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THOMAS BARNES

(Ca. 1615-1689/90)

of

Hartford and Farmington

Connecticut

in Relation to Inheritable Tendencies

Barnes family

by

Frederick R. Barnes

THOMAS BARNES

OF

HARTFORD

AND

FARMINGTON

Rec'd Oct 26-1977

Barnes,F R
Thomas Barnes, ca 1615-1689/90
of HARTFORD and Farmington.
Conn. (1943)

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FOREWORD

This small volume has become a light-hearted excursion into early colonial American history, rather than an erudite treatise on a phase of history or biology. After diligent search, every known datum has been assembled which testifies directly about a pioneer of New England. Much also has been subpoenaed from contemporary history for circumstantial evidence relevant to his effect upon his descendants through many generations. This serves to refresh and enrich the memory of non-professional readers, most of whom must think almost exclusively in the present. Thus we come to some insight into the stature and powers of Thomas Barnes of Hartford and Farmington, Connecticut, of the Seventeenth Century.

After three centuries, thousands of this man's posterity are living. Also, since 1900 statistical research has been marshalling facts about the persistency of inheritable tendencies. It is inevitable that his living descent will feel vaguely their kinship with this man as one of their immigrant forefathers. It is hoped that the book will tend to crystallize their almost instinctive interest into something constructive.

In such a treatment, the author has departed from the beaten paths of genealogy; but also he has felt that he has perhaps reached out from the dilletante into some place of sobering, if not profound, value, something as yet little understood. Whether he has been wise in this the users of the volume must decide.

Sterling folks have encouraged me in producing it. They include Librarian James Brewster and Examiner Harold B. Burt of the State Library at Hartford, my kinsman L. M. Hubbard of Hartford and Town Clerk Mrs. Mabel S. Hurlburt, of Farmington, all in Connecticut, Dr. C. P. Oliver, of the University of Minnesota, and many others. As regards the form of the book, the Prouse & Edblom Company, with their associates, visualize to me the Roycrofters of the palmy days of Elburt Hubbard, because of their friendly and generous interest in seeing things through.

F. R. B.

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PRE-HARTFORD DAYS

THOMAS BARNES was an early colonial immigrant to New England. For those of us whose minds are entirely filled with today and its tomorrows, it may seem utterly useless for anyone to turn his thoughts back to America's colonial period, especially as nobody can ever wish for its return. Why should anyone want to revert to house-shops rather than our factories or stores centered on business streets? Or to go back to schools for only the favored few, instead of having in public schools an almost universal privilege? Or to move in the midst of gruesome mysteries, instead of being in the relatively clear light of scientific knowledge? Or to have a religion more mindful of life after death than of practical ways whereby to make the world now a better place to live in? If those times, as seen after several centuries, are such as nobody would return to, then what value can there be in consideration of Thomas Barnes and his early days? Obviously, in such a sense, there is none.

But in another sense such consideration does have value. We know, for one thing, that human nature persists, almost immeasurably, so that the race can almost be said to be immortal. And individual predispositions do recur, not only "unto the third and fourth generations"[1] but may do so even through ten generations.[2] In at least a small sense, then, Thomas Barnes may continue to affect his descendants; and conversely some of them, perhaps latently but nevertheless actually, are, almost instinctively, interested in him as one of their distant forebears. His descent would like to know what he did, and why he did so. For at least some of them, a review of the circumstances under which he left Europe for America, of what he did in the New World, and who his family were, has some direct and personal value. Who knows, too, but that practical importance will, in time, be seen in records based upon better appreciation of the lives and times of anyone's distant

[1] Exodus: XX-5—A discovery made perhaps 4,000 years ago.

[2] Dr. C. P. Oliver, with relation to the common fruit-fly, Drosophila melanoganter, used extensively in breeding experiments to study inheritance of characters. Dr. Oliver is of the University of Minnesota faculty and also Director of Dight Institute for Promotion of Human Genetics.

predecessors and that an understanding of them will come to have broad biological significance?

With this in mind, we recall first, in a general way and without questioning the general truth of every statement of standard historical treatises upon which we may rely, that in the early 1600's, which is when Thomas Barnes was born, England's opportunities were being enormously expanded. It is somewhat as though from around Hawaii a new continent were to emerge, rich in natural resources and awaiting settlement from the United States. Such a world would relieve human competitive tendencies for a long time, especially as experience has been teaching us since 1600 to conserve the world's remaining raw wealth and to develop it as skillfully as possible. But in Thomas Barnes' day men's ignorance and greed had for centuries been leading Europe to almost nothing in her New World, excepting the theft of Mexico's and Peru's gold and, in North America, to the formation of three fairly well defined spheres of influence. Of these, Spain claimed what was approximately to become Georgia and Florida, France was appropriating the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes regions and the King of England was assuming full sovereignty—which action nobody questioned—over the intervening Atlantic seaboard. Also each of these three claims overlapped upon the others, thus engendering confusion and strife.

But by 1600 a more practical, if no less greedy, vision was entering the minds of hard-headed English business men. These formed into two groups, each wishing to develop new markets for England's goods and conversely to tap new sources of raw materials for her industries. This they attempted to do by organizing two colonization schemes known as the London and Plymouth Companies. However, their long-range plans did not turn out as calculated, for not only did very little permanent emigration result but by 1614 the Dutch had entered competing settlements at Hudson River points as far north as Fort Orange*, besides doing about as they otherwise chose upon land which King James had been claiming as his own.

Meanwhile, however, a new incentive to English emigration was giving vigor to the plans of the colonization companies, namely an insistence by King James I (1603-1625) and his successor King Charles I (1625-1649) upon punctilious observance of the ritual of the Church of England and a harassment of any of the clergy who

*Later to become Albany.

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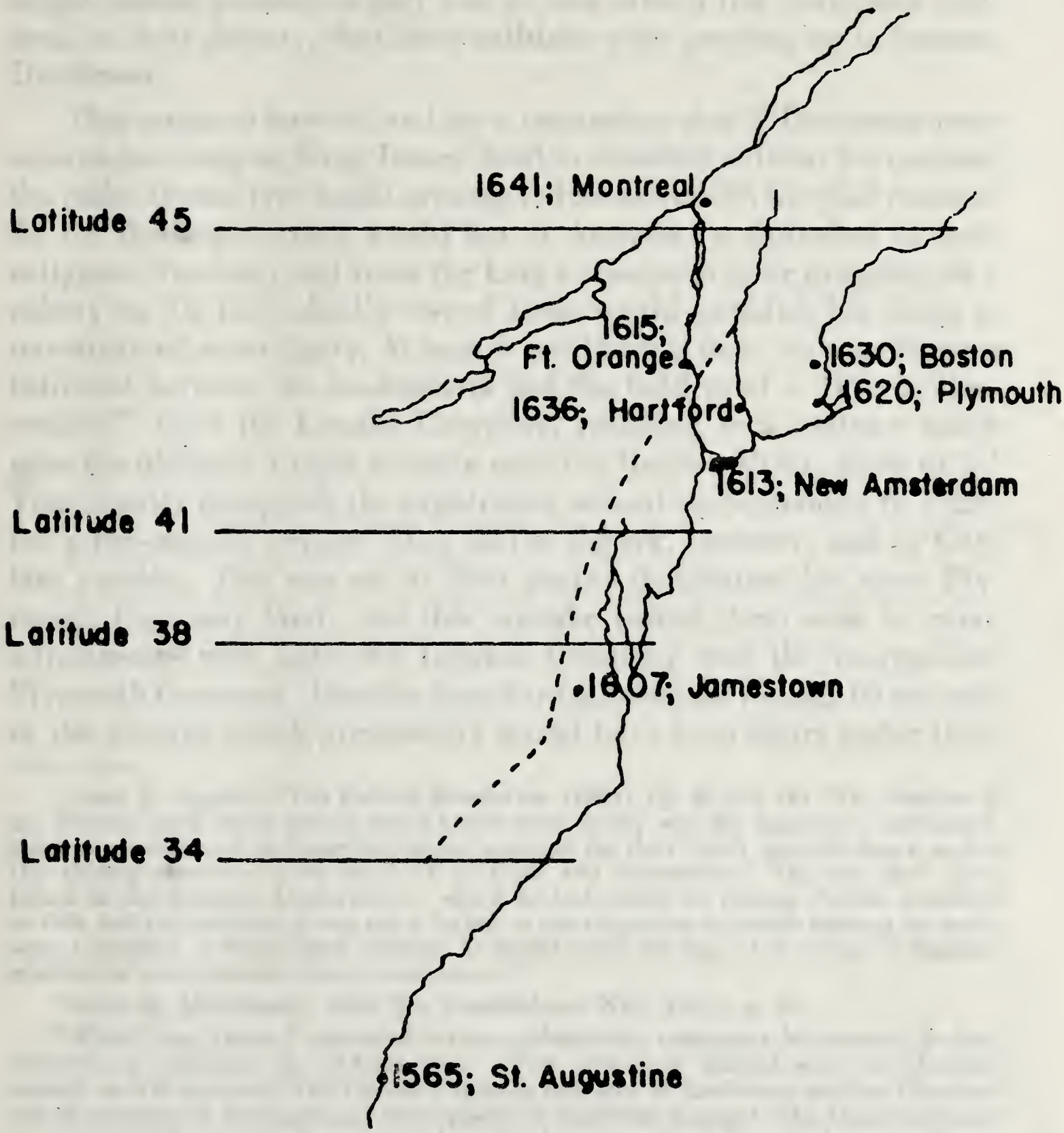
1641; Montreal
Latitude 45
1615;
Ft. Orange
1630; Boston
1620; Plymouth
1636; Hartford
1613; New Amsterdam
Latitude 41
Latitude 38
1607; Jamestown
Latitude 34
1565; St. Augustine

should be found failing to conform to the rules of Church procedure. Such clergymen included some who held Puritan beliefs.[1] By 1609, persecution had driven a thousand of the extreme Puritans, known as Nonconformists, into a self-appointed exile in Holland. There they might indeed worship as they saw fit. But after a few years they realized, to their dismay, that their children were growing up to become Dutchmen.

This seems to have stirred up a realization that if Dutchmen were able to get along on King James' land in America without his consent, the exiles themselves might arrange to live there with his glad consent. As for themselves, they would not in America be disturbed in their religious freedom; and from the king's viewpoint their presence, as a colony on his individually owned land, would establish his claim to unrestrained sovereignty. At least it would for a time. So a conference followed between the landseekers and the holders of a "Pierce Concession"[2] from the London Company, resulting in a contract which gave the obligees a right to settle near the Hudson River, south of it.[3] Thus legally equipped, the expatriates set sail on September 6, 1620, for a two-months voyage. They had to debark, however, and by Captain's orders. This was not at their proper destination but upon Plymouth Company land; and this mistake forced them soon to make adjustments with both the London Company and the reorganized Plymouth Company. Thereby they were allowed only about 10 per cent of the acreage which presumably would have been theirs under their

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[1] Saml. R. Gardner: The Puritan Revolution (1893) pp. 84 and 14: "The element in the Puritan creed which stirred men's hearts most deeply was the doctrine of conversion, the firm conviction of an immediate divine action of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, and of His abiding presence in the midst of all trials and temptations." "To this view, King James, at the Hampton Conference, to which he had called the leading Puritan ministers in 1604, had rejoined that it was not to be left to any clergyman to decide whether he would wear a surplice or black gown, whether he would make the sign of the cross in baptism, whether he would give the ring in marriage . . ."

[2] Robt. R. McCormick: How We Acquired our Natl. Terr.; p. 15.

[3] When King James I chartered the two colonization companies he referred to their enterprising organizers as "Adventurers." (This term later labeled some pre-Hartford settlers, as will be seen.) The London Company consisted of Londoners and the Plymouth one of residents of Plymouth and other places in southwest England. The London concern was authorized to colonize in an area along the American shores between latitudes 24 and 41 north, Plymouth having leave to do so between latitudes 38 and 45. Thus an overlapping belt between latitudes 38 and 41 existed. In it, each company might plant settlements to whom rights would be granted over any area 100 miles square abutting the ocean which did not infringe upon any rights previously established.

Presumably the intention had been to receive land which would include what later did become the cities of both New York and Philadelphia, as a check against Dutch claims.

original agreement. Also they were not located where they could disturb the Dutch, appreciably.[1]

But the newcomers, 100 in all, soon made friends with their simple and well-intentioned barbarian neighbors; and by industry, prudence and courage during their first winter, when their sufferings reduced their number to 50, showed the stuff which was in their moral natures. None of the Pilgrim Fathers sailed back to Europe. Their bold adventure became a success. Such an example, together with growing complaint of severe disciplines visited by Archbishop Laud upon England's Puritans, therefore led to a great influx into New England. By 1640, it had totaled 20,000 Puritans.[2]

Then the fortunes of these religionists in England changed. They took control of Parliament, went to war with King Charles I and completely defeated him. This contest, which began in 1642, meant that all Puritans who could fight were needed at home in England. It also meant loss of incentive to emigrate because persecutions had stopped at home. It meant further, which is of more importance to our line of inquiry, that by 1640 the 20,000 already in New England received almost no new immigration for a century. Thus 20,000 peculiar people were almost completely isolated for three generations. Their case furnishes, perhaps, an unparalleled large-scale example of human inter-breeding. It resulted in most of the New Englanders of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, people whom the world came to know as Yankees. The descent of these 20,000, as for instance the children of Thomas Barnes of Hartford, may therefore well take note in a general way, and for many generations, of the traits which have distinguished the 20,000. They may with considerable confidence ascribe to themselves, at least latently, the characteristics brought by the 20,000 to America.

Such traits are said to have included sobriety, independence and self-reliance; the habit of possessing one's institutions instead of being possessed by them; industry, thrift and a keen eye for the main practical chance; austerity; a lively conscience; stubborn adherence to one's own ideals; intolerance of others' conflicting ones; and, within their own circle, uprightness, forbearance, kindness, fear of God and a tender affection one for another.

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[1] By 1620 the reorganized Plymouth Company had become "The Council of Plymouth for New England," with power to deal in land lying back from the Atlantic clear across the continent in a belt between Latitudes 40 and 48, or roughly what was to become the northerly half of the United States.

[2] Edw. Johnson. "Wonder-working Providence"; pubd. 1654.

Two of these group characteristics were early pointing the way to an unborn Hartford, Connecticut, for while many settlers in Boston were astute* businessmen and so would hardly be given to religious wrangling to any marked degree such as might spoil a sale, other first settlers were jealous of their hard-won freedom and to such a degree that they could not brook any conflicting opinions of newcomers such as might cast even a suspicion of a stain upon the purity of what they considered to be the orthodox Puritan religion. Trouble was therefore due to arise when later immigrants should come, find Boston crowded, form centers of their own out five miles or so west, as at Watertown and Newtown, and then feel that they were not having an equal voice in the proceedings of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, religiously or otherwise. This appears to be precisely what did happen.

Also newcomers looking for good business openings close to Boston would find the best ones taken up by earlier settlers and so would welcome any good chance to settle elsewhere if the new settlements would comprise people enough to keep the Indians off. By moving there, the newcomers might hope to live their own lives and not be annoyed by hindrances from Boston.

With 1633, the arrival of Rev. John Hooker, to become the minister at Newtown,[1] provided a rare leader, a man for the occasion, just when even shrewd Governor John Winthrop at Boston was not proving able to control the "contumacy" of Dorchester, Watertown and Newtown.

One wonders whether, back in England, there were not at this time parents of young Thomas Barnes keeping track of what was going on at Newtown. Mr. Hooker had lived in County Essex, where many of the Newtown folks had once lived.[2] It is therefore easy to surmise that Thomas Barnes or his Essex relatives would be hearing of the plans in what looked like a New World of unbelievable opportunity.

We can readily imagine that, after Thomas Hooker should reach

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*Note the practical wisdom of the associates of John Winthrop, which led to their locating their settlement along the fine harbor of Boston, where a great trading center was to form, which would reach out to the West Indies and Africa as well as to Old England. And compare the record (See S. R. Gardiner: The Puritan Revolution; p. 87) of Governor Winthrop once coming to a place named Hue's Cross. He at once ordered it to be named Hue's Folly, lest men should think that Jesuits had been there. One can imagine how the governor would have dealt with a living Jesuit caught in Massachusetts Bay Colony.

[1] John Winthrop: Hist. of N. Eng. (1630-1649), pp. 00 and 111. Also N. Eng. Histl.-Gengl. Register (1907) 61: 128. Thos. Hooker (1586-1647) received degrees at Cambridge University. During 1620-25 he was rector at Chelmsford, Com. Essex. In 1629 he was silenced for nonconformity. He then kept private school in Essex until driven to Holland. There he preached at Delfthaven and Rotterdam.

[2] G. Andrews Moriarity, of N. Eng. Histl. Genl. Soc.; letter.

Boston, it would not take long for him to hear of the sachems, Indians who, as early as 1631, had journeyed east 100 miles from Agawam[1] to see Governor Winthrop. A well-known path extended that far west[2] and the chiefs had told enchanting tales of spacious meadows along a great river[3] bordered by fertile fields through which flowed feeder brooks, well stocked with fish, to the Great River. Such stories would not sleep in the minds of the sachems' listeners. Perhaps Mr. Hooker had heard of them before he left England.

At any rate Dorchester had sent men, John Oldham, Samuel Hall and two others, as a committee to verify the Indians' tales and report thereon, with recommendations as to the practicability of "planting" a white settlement out there. This Committee took to the field and soon found that the Dutch[4] had already etsablished a trading post known as the "Dutch House."[5] It was located on a point beside a "Little River"[6] where it emptied into the "Great" one, or about 50 miles up from Long Island Sound. The committee therefor lost no time in obtaining at least some color of title to land four miles down the Great River from the Dutch House, at Pyquag.[7] There they spent the summer, cementing friendship with the local Indians and enjoying the glorious elms and stately oaks of their broad meadows and sightly uplands; they then returned East for the winter and to bring back to Pyquag in 1634 a small band of Adventurers from Watertown and vicinity.

So we may be sure then that, when the new minister Thomas Hooker reached Newtown, he found that some of his parishoners were aflame with desire for a home out West, where their own consciences might guide their devotions and also where residents might have a voice in

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[1] About five miles from later Springfield.

[2] Register (1901) 55; 155-161. The earliest Bay-path between Springfield and Boston; by Levi B. Chase.

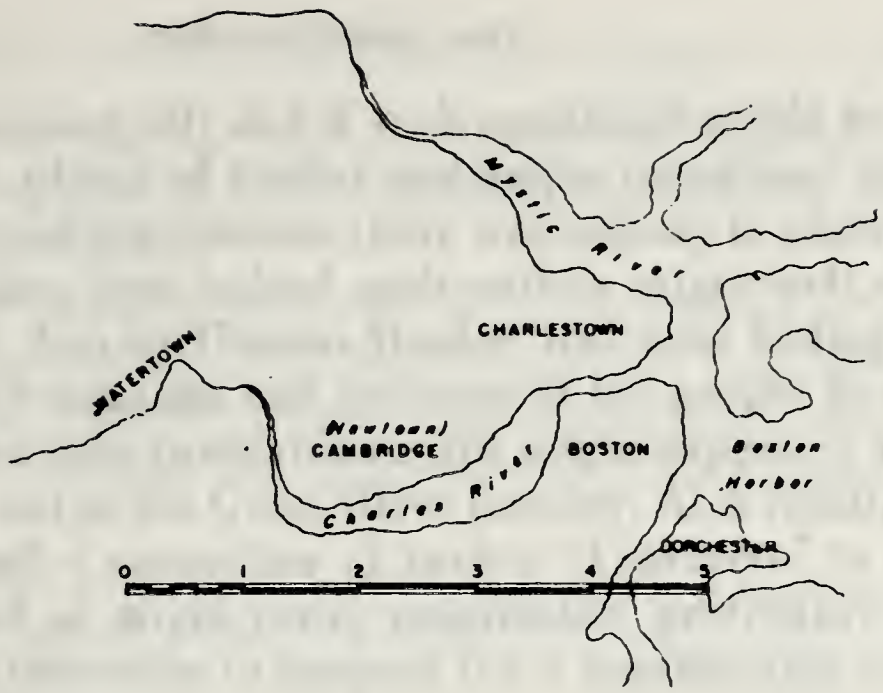
[3] The Connecticut.

[4] P. F. N. Myers: Outline of Medieval and Modern Hist. (p. 454), shows that, in 1609, the population in the little patch of seabottom and morass constituting the Dutch Republic was equal to the entire population of England; that is to say, to three or four million people.

[5] The site covered only a few acres. It was protected by two cannon. Evidently it had not been selected for colonization.

[6] Later to be known to Hartford as Park River. It winds along the southerly side of the City's business Loop District and skirts the north side of the State Capitol grounds.

[7] Later to be named Wethersfield. Samuel W. Adams: Hist. Ancient Wethersfield I:24: "—Insofar as now appears, pioneers had settled there without special authority or guarantee of protection. The Wethersfield records refer to Oldham as an Adventurer; apparently he, as well as several others, were so distinguished because they derived their title to their land otherwise than from the Town."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BOSTON
Boston Harbor
Charles River
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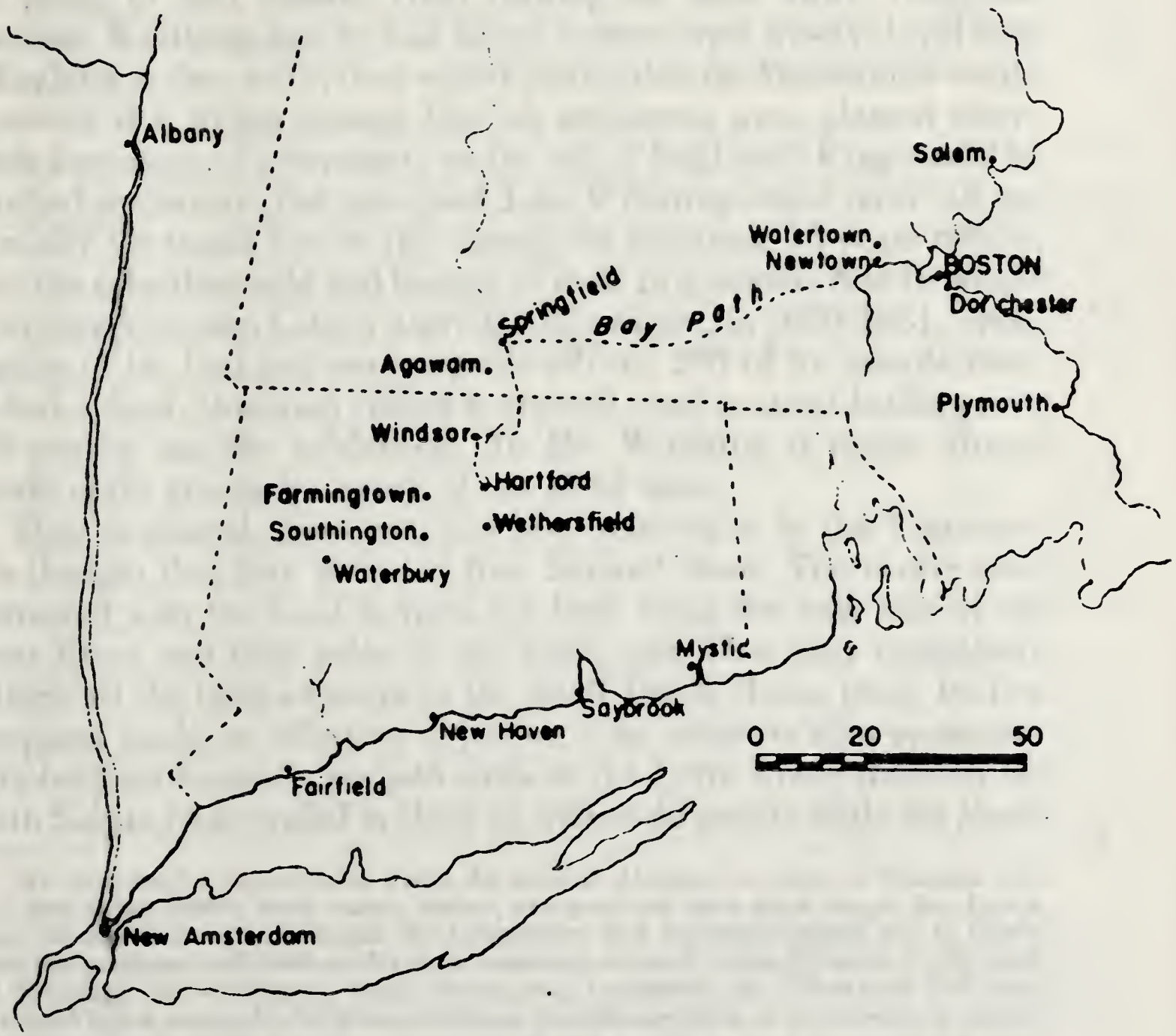
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Windsor
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Southington
Wethersfield
Waterbury
Mystic
Saybrook
New Haven
0 20 50
Fairfield
New Amsterdam

other matters concerning all; and if such conditions might be enjoyed amidst good lands, plenty of timber and ample meadows,[1] all receivable almost for the asking, because there was nobody to receive things from but the Indians, then indeed such settlers might well call their conditions blessed. And so Thomas Hooker was soon finding work to do, namely to unify the aims and interests of his people in so statesmanslike a way that only favorable results might happen if and when they were to move out to the Great River country. As a result, in 1635 Newtown dispatched a committee of twelve "Venturers" to squat on such desirable land as might prove practicable, preferably near the Dutch House, and otherwise to prepare for a considerable settlement there the following year.

In this it is likely that the powers in Boston recognized that nothing was going to stop Hooker from leading his flock away. Doubtless Governor Winthrop and he had talked matters over wisely, loyal sons of England as they were; they would realize that the Motherland would be served if a strong enough English settlement were planted where Dutch assertions of sovereignty on the soil of England's King would be annulled decisively. But also good John Winthrop could recall all too painfully the tragic loss of life among the Pilgrims, 15 years before, from the relentless cold and hunger of their first winter. And he would never forget his own Colony's terrible first winter, in 1630-1631, when, in spite of his best and very capable efforts, 200 of his people died. He had indeed, abundant reason to counsel caution about leading over 100 people into the wilderness. To Mr. Winthrop it meant almost certain early graves for many, if not all of them.

Thus cautioned, good men had been selected to be the Venturers. It is thought that they included Rev. Samuel Stone. The twelve soon contracted with the local Indians for land along the west side of the Great River and both sides of the Little one. Thus they completely utilized all the land adjacent to the small Dutch House tract. Its few occupants made no effective objection. The pioneers also systematically laid out homelots on both sides of the Little River, those on the South Side to be occupied in chief by well-to-do people while the North

[1] An immemorial requirement. From the days of Abraham to those of Montana livestock men of the 1800's, wood, water, shelter, and good soil were much sought for. Unwittingly the Hartford settlers became the forerunners of a movement which was to extend across the continent and continue for three centuries, or until it was thwarted by the semi-arid conditions surrounding the Rocky Mountains. Apparently this "Westward Ho" spirit has turned into a search for Utopian conditions through spending at the expense of unborn generations, much as the forefathers squandered raw wealth in their unquenchable thirst for personal success.

Side ones were for the Venturers, some investors and, at the population center, a public square, with places for a church or meeting-house, jail and market place.[1]

Thomas Barnes is not shown as among these very first landowners. He may have been, in 1635-36, too young to hold title to land; or he either had not arrived in New England or had not yet made up his mind to locate in what was to become Hartford; or he may have lacked funds.

A principal road extended through the two settlements; it became Main Street. It runs north and south for a mile or so and then reaches northwesterly for about a quarter of a mile, to where Thomas Barnes was to locate.[2] Presumably this was on a tract of about 40 acres which the Venturers had reserved in undivided interests. Around about were timber tracts, pastures, meadows and, to the northeast, a village of the aborigines. They, as will appear, seem to have been glad to have the whites come.

With so much to be done, it is likely that some hired hands were in the advance party. Certain young men might thus be given a chance to prove that they were good citizen material and fit to become landed proprietors. That Thomas Barnes was one of these is suggested because, as will be seen, he appears to have been one of the earliest grantees to homelots after the original settlement, and because his land was very well located.

However all that may be, the onset of winter doubtless saw a sub-committee of the Venturers returning to Newtown, to report progress and to become guides to the migrators the next spring when they should be removing to their new homes. The balance of the Venturers and party would busy themselves in constructing their own proper housing for the winter, felling trees, getting out logs, putting up a meeting-house and homes for Rev. Hooker and Rev. Small and in developing a set of ordinances for the settlement's self-government and common welfare. In this, and in the religious care of the group, Rev. Mr. Stone would be invaluable. Also, someone such as he was needed in obtaining good and unquestionable title to their land through

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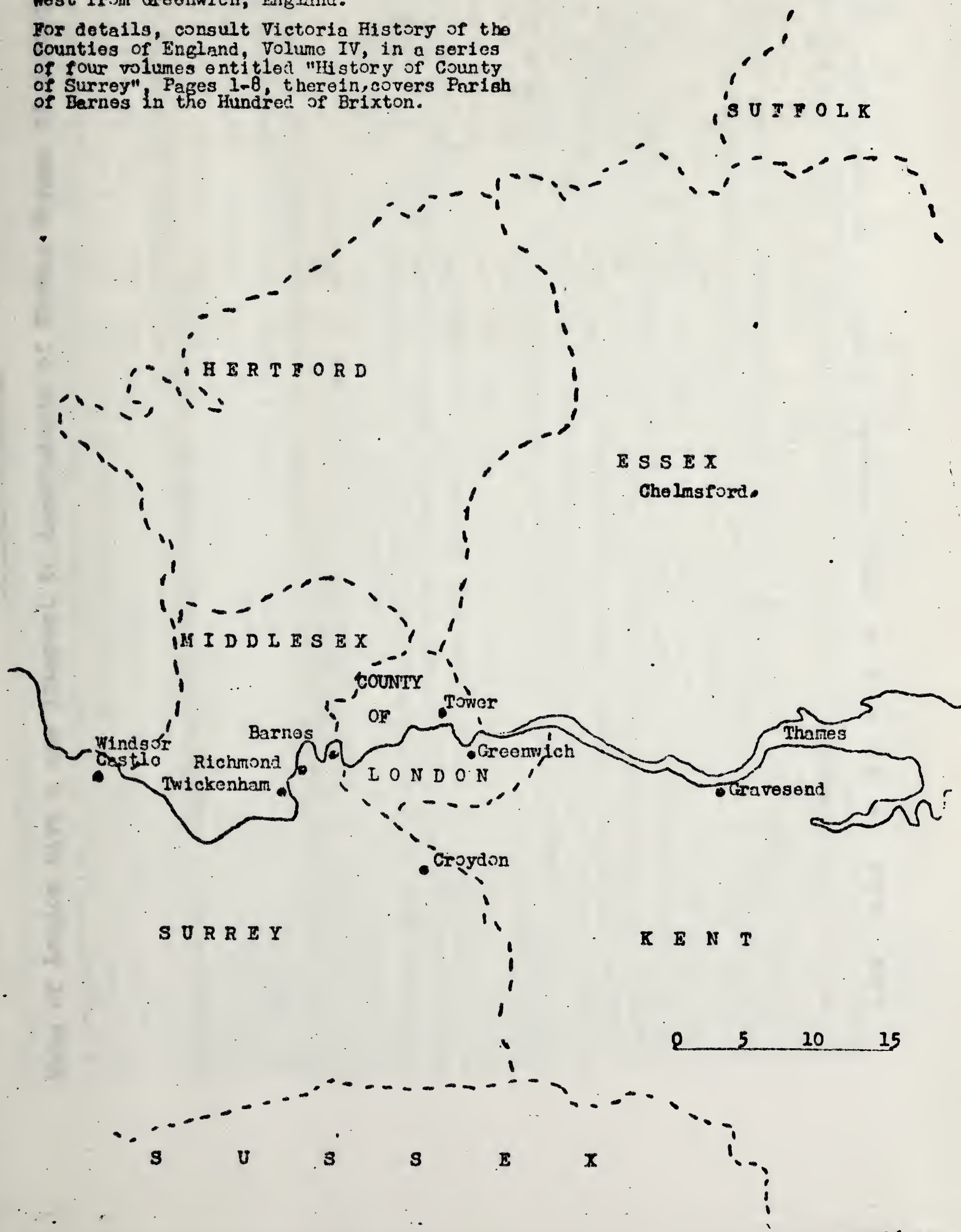
[1] Wm. deLoss Love: Colon. Hist. of Hfd. (1914) brings out that the Venturers left Newtown in October, 1635, and were: William Goodwin, Thomas Scott, John Steele, William Westwood, Stephen Hart, William Pantry, John Barnard, William Butler, William Kelsey, Nathaniel Ely, Nicholas Clarke, Matthew Marvin. He considers further that the following went along at that time: Matthew Allen, John Stone, Timothy Stanley, Edward Stebbins, James Olmstead, Robert Day, John Talcott, William Lewis, Clement Chaplin.

[2] From map of Hartford in 1640, officially drawn in 1838 by Wm. S. Porter.

To show Parish and Manor of Barnes, lying immediately west of County of London and bordering the Thames River about ten miles west from Greenwich, England.

For details, consult Victoria History of the Counties of England, Volume IV, in a series of four volumes entitled "History of County of Surrey", Pages 1-8, therein, covers Parish of Barnes in the Hundred of Brixton.

F. R. Barnes
Mpls., Minn.
December, 1943.



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it becomes evident that London includes a Parish of Barnes. It is located west of the commercial center of the metropolis and about eight miles upstream from the Tower of London. There the area nestles along the southerly side of the Thames where the stream, protruding northerly, forms an oxbow which encompasses a peninsula about a mile and a half long by a mile wide, which is the parish.

Thus situated, Barnes is a suburban, residential part of the city. It is described as desirable, well-improved property. Special places in it have long been known as Barn Elms, Barnes Village and Barnes Common. The village church contains portions which date back to the 13th century.

The parish is also a manor. Assumably lords of the manor lived there from prior to the time of William the Conqueror and his Domesday Book of 1086. The manor house was probably at Barn Elms, medieval London being most accessible from Barn Elms.(1) But even before 1086 the tract had been granted to the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral of London. Thereafter, it seems, the land was leased to tenant lords. Eventually Queen Elizabeth secured an option on this leasehold; but before taking up her option she assigned it to her secretary of state, Sir Francis Walsingham and he became the tenant. Thereafter she often spent daytimes at the manor for conferences with her ministers. Occasionally the entire court would be in attendance. Excursions to Barnes proved especially convenient for her, because the incoming morning tides aided oarsmen to move her barge upstream speedily and similarly the ebb tides would hasten her evening journey back to the royal residence.

One can readily fancy that it was on one of such outings that, perhaps one morning following a shower, the queen had stepped from her gateway to the great stairway which led down to the water's edge only to find a "plashy place" (2) - giving a nimble-witted young bystander who was enjoying the pageantry, Walter Raleigh, his opportunity to overcome her difficulty by spreading out his new plush cloak over the muddy place, for her to walk upon. At least the story is thus immortalized by Sir Walter Scott in his Kenilworth.

South of the commercial center of London is another suburb, Croydon. Transatlantic

Addendum to "Thomas Barnes of Hartford and Farmington, (Ct.) as relating to early Barnes individuals of England. See text; pages 21-23

Maps of London have a new interest to descendents of Thomas Barnes of Hartford when it becomes evident that London includes a Parish of Barnes. It is located west of the commercial center of the metropolis and about eight miles upstream from the Tower of London. There the area nestles along the southerly side of the Thames where the stream, protruding northerly, forms an oxbow which encompasses a peninsula about a mile and a half long by a mile wide, which is the parish.

Thus situated, Barnes is a suburban, residential part of the city. It is described as desirable, well-improved property. Special places in it have long been known as Barn Elms, Barnes Village and Barnes Common. The village church contains portions which date back to the 13th century.

The parish is also a manor. Assumably lords of the manor lived there from prior to the time of William the Conqueror and his Domesday Book of 1086. The manor house was probably at Barn Elms, medieval London being most accessible from Barn Elms.(1) But even before 1086 the tract had been granted to the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral of London. Thereafter, it seems, the land was leased to tenant lords. Eventually Queen Elizabeth secured an option on this leasehold; but before taking up her option she assigned it to her secretary of state, Sir Francis Walsingham and he became the tenant. Thereafter she often spent daytimes at the manor for conferences with her ministers. Occasionally the entire court would be in attendance. Excursions to Barnes proved especially convenient for her, because the incoming morning tides aided oarsmen to move her barge upstream speedily and similarly the ebb tides would hasten her evening journey back to the royal residence.

One can readily fancy that it was on one of such outings that, perhaps one morning following a shower, the queen had stepped from her gateway to the great stairway which led down to the water's edge only to find a "plashy place" (2) - giving a nimble-witted young bystander who was enjoying the pageantry, Walter Raleigh, his opportunity to overcome her difficulty by spreading out his new plush cloak over the muddy place, for her to walk upon. At least the story is thus immortalized by Sir Walter Scott in his Kenilworth.

South of the commercial center of London is another suburb, Croydon. Transatlantic planes now make Croydon Field their terminal. Therefore descendents of Thomas of Hartford, when they alight from their air-ships, may elect, if they so desire, to detour to their lodgings via a northwesterly course ten miles or so and first inspect the old Manor of Barnes, before attending to more practical matters. For all that anyone knows to the contrary, these Americans will thus be going to the very homesite of medieval John atta Berne and of William de la Berne, for the peninsula was known as Berne during the 11th, 13th and 14th centuries, and again in 1629; also we know of no other tract of land which could have been the residence of these men. (3)
(~~1601-1~~703)

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(1) A park adjacent to the Elms was the scene of many duels. Samuel Pepys, in his Diary describes the scandal which followed a duel there on January 17, 1668, in which the Duke of Buckingham killed the Earl of Shrewsbury.
(1601-1662)

(2) So described by Thomas Fuller, in his "Worthies of England".

(3) For amplifications, see Volume IV of a series on the County of Surrey, in Victoria History of the Counties of England. Therein seven pages are devoted to Barnes, one of twelve parishes which constituted the Hundred of Brixton. Brixton extended along the south side of the Thames for about twelve miles, from near Greenwich to Twickenham, in a belt about five miles wide.

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Thomas Barnes of Hartford and Farmington, (Ct.):

I much regret noticing some typographical errors in the text of the above entitled volume. Fortunately almost all are of trivial account; but importance attaches to one, perhaps two or three.

So the entire list so far as now noticed, is set out below, for such readers as may care to mark corrections to the text, for their own sakes as well as for the peace of mind of other later readers:

Page:	Line:		
14	16	"therefor"	add an "e"
16	30	"Small"	change to "Stone"
25	33	"continues"	add a comma
52	20	"Masseco"	add footnote reference "6"
53	14	"ont"	change to "do not"
60	9	"Innocent VIII"	add "in"
60	19	"John Wesley"	insert before his name "even"
61	10	"did in 1650"	insert comma between "did" and "in 1650"
61	18	"Hartford[I]"	change footnote ref. from "I" to "5"
61	Footnote[3]	See below	
65	24	"So far"	add a comma after "far"
66	1	first letter	"S" should be "a" (pneumatologically)
71	10	"he"	change to "Thomas"
86	19	"any of the"	add "pious among the" after "any of the"

Index:

Dueling	add "59"
Munson	change "39" to "40"

* Change footnote[3] to read: It is erroneously claimed that, during this time, she gave birth to a child thereby delaying the time of her execution.

FREDERICK R. BARNES

M-17

reducing to writing a contract or deed thereto from the neighboring River Indians. Possibly a part of the consideration agreed upon in the document was that the settlers should designate their place after the Indian chief, Suckiaug, as this was the name which it first received.

Following the sub-committee's report back at Newtown, the winter months of 1635-36 must have been stirring ones indeed. It had cost the members of the Church there so much, in having left all that they had held dear in old England and in braving a slow, hazardous ocean voyage, that now to sell out near Boston at a sacrifice in order to risk untried prospects, in which there surely would be dangers of wild beasts and heathen barbarian neighbors, was nothing less than appalling. Thus Minister Hooker would be hard put to it, even with the aid of the brave souls of the Church, to hold together 100 people and more, in a firm resolution to set out for the Great River country.[1]

But the spirits of the flock did keep high throughout the winter and until the "Great Removal" should get under way. Unfortunately this was to be with a late start, for not until the last of May did the caravan actually move out. It was encumbered with 160 head of cattle, which impeded progress. Other chattels may have been sent around by water. In such event, the movers could follow a "Bay Path" which the sachems from Agawam,[2] as well as Oldham and his exploring

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[1] The exhorters, in that day when the Bible was almost the only book, if any, in many a house, would wear Biblical expressions threadbare. They would tell of Abraham, who

"—when he was called to go out into a place which he would receive as an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went—for he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God" (Heb. 9:10).

They would also point to the Exodus, when Jehovah's chosen people, famine-stricken in the wilderness, had cried:

"—would to God we had died—in the land of Egypt; then we sat by the fleshpots and did eat to the full" (Ex.: 16; 3).

But had not Jehovah then cared for his elect, giving them, day by day, their daily bread? (Ex.: Chap. 16; also Numbers: Chap. 13).

Even the Twelve Spies, whom Moses had sent ahead to study the land of Canaan, could become a pattern whereby the Venturers were functioning, for when the Spy Caleb had returned, reporting:

"—we came into the land wheither thou sentest us; and surely it floweth with milk and honey" (Num.: 13; 31-33);

others of the twelve spies objected, saying:

"—We be not able to go up against the people, for they be stronger than we.—All the people that we saw—are men of great stature. And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants; and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight."

But then Caleb had stilled the children of Israel, saying:

"—Let us go up at once and possess it, for we are well able to overcome it.—If the Lord delight in us, He will bring us into this land and give it to us.—Only rebel ye not against the Lord, neither fear ye the people of the land—for the Lord is with us; fear them not" (Num. 13; 3-30; also 14; 8-9).

[2] H. E. Marshall: This Country of Ours; p. 211.

companions, had most probably used. The expedition would go westerly for 80 miles or so before reaching the Great River and then travel south along the river's easterly side for perhaps 20 miles, to a ford at Windsor. There the caravan might cross readily enough, on its last lap to its final goal, ten miles further south.

Arriving safely many of the travelers would settle down in homes which the Venturers had already prepared, or would immediately go about putting up their own. Soon the Venturers' set of house rules was adopted; also the settlement's name, Suckiaug, was changed to Newtown. But before long the following went into the record:

"—Ordered that the plantation nowe called Newtowne shall be called and named by the name of Hartforde Towne."[1]

The Town Records indicate that Thomas Barnes was not one of the Original Proprietors of Hartford but rather became a Proprietor between 1636 and 1639.[2] This raises inferences. For instance, he may not have been quite of legal age when he reached Hartford. If not a stranger, he was sponsored for by a friend until he should reach his maturity and hold land in his own name. By some shenanigan he had reached America owing the master of his vessel and was indentured until this should be worked out, as by helping to guard camp at night and to care for the livestock while the caravan was moving to Hartford. He was one of the "servants" whom Steward William Gibbon took along later in 1636, to put up buildings for their wealthy master "m^r George Willis."

Thomas' descendants are entitled to wonder about it all. But the answers are unknown.

Our feet are, however, on some solid ground at last, if only in the single authentication that, between 1636 and 1638/9, Thomas Barnes became one of the recognized proprietors, and founders, of Hartford. We therefore stop to recall what the desire was which has lain behind our long reconnaisance of his pre-Hartford days, namely an intent to seek out data whereby his individuality may be seen, and appraised, for whatever influence it may still be having upon his posterity. And

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[1] Colonial Records of Connecticut: I; 7. Hfd. Town Votes: 6; 7.

[2] In 1636, claims to shares in property vouched for by certificates of ownership in modern legal entities called corporations were unknown. Hence the similar claims of the first settlers in Hartford, to all the undivided lands, were in an immense unwieldy partnership. By 1638/9 these partners totaled 91 original owners (proprietors) plus 41 who had been admitted tentatively to ownership. At least the 41 claimed so. Among these "proprietors by Courtesie," Thomas Barnes is listed as the 10th. In a subsequent list his name appears as the 4th in order (Hfd. Town Votes; pp. 19 and 23).

we have taken interest in his surroundings because they included pioneers whose children were to interbreed with Thomas' children and as Yankees to present a marked case of human inbreeding on a large scale.

On this we read further:[1]

"—On the bleak coasts of New England were being formed settlements of idealists, of men who were willing to undergo exile for conscience's sake; they were such men as Pastor Robinson, men like Elder Brewster who while in Holland instructed the university students at Leyden, like, too, John Winthrop 'of gentle breeding and education,' and like John Davenport whom the Indians called 'So-Big-Study-Man.' Little wonder, then, that the germ-plasm of the New England men of deep convictions and scholarship should show its peculiarities in the great network of her descendants and should establish her reputation for conscientiousness and love of learning and of culture. As it was the first business of the founders of the colonies to found a college, so their descendants, the families of Edwards, Whitley, Dwight, Eliot, Lowell, Woolsey and the rest, have not only led in literature, philosophy and science but have carried the lamp of learning across the continent, lighting up educational beacons from Boston to San Francisco.

"A community is the sum of its constituent individuals; what each individual does depends both upon innate sensitiveness and vigor and the kind of his reactions to the stimuli of his surroundings. The peculiarities of each individual depend quite as much upon inheritable traits as upon training and experience, for just what effect training and experience shall have upon the individual depends upon the nature of his protoplasm.

"Nor is it an accident that on the soil tilled by these Dissenters from the Established Church of England should be spilled the first blood of the Revolutionary War.

"One very notable common characteristic of these early immigrants, which led them to leave family and friends and to undergo trials of a long sea voyage in order to settle in a vigorous climate among unreliable barbarians, was a willingness to break with tradition, to exchange the old for the new and better. This trait, which amounts to Wanderlust, is illustrated in the history of many a pioneer, each an example of the enterprising restlessness of the early settlers.

"The most active, ambitious and courageous blood migrates. It has done much to make America what she has become. When the best and strongest migrated, the weaker were left behind, to breed in the old homesteads. For example, Scandianavian migration, chiefly to Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin and Iowa, is bound to impress its "national traits" upon the communities where it is settled. These include love of agriculture, independence in thought and action, and self-control of other sorts. In the absence of caste, and in the desire to marry as well as possible, new and strong characteristics are intruded into the germ-plasm.

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[1] C. B. Davenport: Heredity in Relation to Environment; p. 208, f. 11.

"The forefathers of Connecticut were men of worldly wisdom, and hence were deeply interested in getting on in the world. It does not detract from their moral virtues and religious character to admit that they were sagacious, enterprising and far-seeing men who sought, and promptly accepted, such business chances as looked good to them. The flock of Thomas Hooker wanted more upland and meadow pastures."

And so Thomas Hooker's flock migrated from Newtown in the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the Connecticut River Valley, and got what was wanted.

THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND

FROM HIS pioneer surroundings in Hartford, young Thomas Barnes had in retrospect a perspective of his antecedents in Europe. We may well try to catch something of this heritage, for whatever value it may prove to have by way of fact or suggestion, prior to examining the details of his Connecticut life. And while our minds are thus turned toward origins, we may also seek an answer to the question, Why is the Barnes surname usually written with an "E"?

Taking up these inquiries together, we learn that the family name is considered as having several independent origins. In perhaps its oldest form it is spelled as Barne, or Barn. In such cases, it may have derived from three distinct origins, namely Bairn, Beorn and Bjorn, meaning respectively (a) a child, (b) a warrior or nobleman and (c) a bear[1]. Such spellings occurred as early as 1086 or 1096, or about then. In that year, the ownership of all lands "burthened with special dues to the Crown" was recorded in the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror's reign; and among the owners thus named were Walter le Berne, William de la Berne and Warin de la Barne. Also even in the preceding rule of Eadward the Confessor (1042-1066), a John atta Bern was named.[2]

An additional origin is suggested in the term "Bere-aern", meaning a barley-place or granary. This use is found in Wyclif's translation

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[1] References to the Barnes Surname:

Arthur; Etymological Dict. of Eng. and Christian Names;
Barber; Eng. Fam. Names: their origin and meaning;
Baring-Gould; Fam. Names and their Story;
Bowditch; Suffolk Surnames;
Gates; Dict. of Eng. and Welsh Surnames;
Guppy; Homes of Eng. Names;
Harrison; Surnames in the United Kingdom;
Holmes; Dict. of Ancestral Heads of N. Eng. Families;
Long; Personal and Family Names;
Lowes; Patronymics Brittanica;
Picket; The Quest of a Lost Race;
Taylor; Names and their History;
Weekly; Romance of Names.

[2] "Atta" was Gothic for father; also it became a surname of people who walked on the tips of their shoes.

of the Bible, which took place about 1382. It is seen in the following verse:

"—Biholde the foules of the air, for they sow not, nether repen, nether gederan into bernes—".[1]

An instance of one's lack of consistency in spelling one's own surname is to be found in a practice in those early years of Dame Juliana, said to have been a prioress of Spowell Nunnery in County Hertford.[2] She is reputedly the author of the "Boke of St. Albans", a rimed treatise on hunting, printed in 1486 or 1496. Therein she wrote her name rather indiscriminately as Berners, Barner and Bernes, somewhat as a man known of late as Zacheus would at times sign it as Zaccheus or just Zack.

In its genitive and plural forms the word was early written as Barnes.

It thus becomes obvious from earliest extant records that an "e" was even then used in spelling the family surname and that some of these records were made nearly a thousand years ago.

As illustrating use of the surname in England contemporaneously with the life of Thomas Barnes of Hartford, an extract from the will of Mary Needham of Marstad, County Middlesex, dated April 12, 1660, reads as follows:[3]

"—To my daughter Barnes, wife of Thomas Barnes, Esq., twenty pounds. To my sons . . ., Thomas and . . ., eight pounds, for mourning, for them and their wives."

(Commissary, Co. of London: 16604: fo. 128.)

And in a similar statement, dated March 6, 1664, the testator refers to his wife Abigail as being a daughter of Thomas Barnes of Albero Hatch, and again as being the sister and coheir of James Barnes, Esq., deceased.[4]

A reasonable conclusion therefore is that the surname did not evolve from some forefathers who kept their families in horse-stables and that nobody's New England conscience or sense of duty or loyalty to the truth need deter him from employing an "e" in his Barnes surname if he wants to do so.

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[1] Matthew: vi; 26. Wyclif's "gederan" probably means "gather."

[2] Century Cyclopedia. Vol. on Proper Names.

[3] Register: 45: 294-295.

[4] Register: 49: 110. This is from the will of Roger Hill of Poundersford, County Somerset, Esquire and Sergeant at Law. Albero Hatch is shown as perhaps identical with Oldborough Hatch, Barking, in County Essex, in what eventually became a part of London.

Now it has been deduced that the first regular scriveners of Hartford included John Steele and John Allyn[1] and of Farmington the same John Steele and William Lewis.[2] These men are supposed to have come from County Essex to America.[3] Also they were inclined to write an "e" in the Barnes surname, when occasion required with respect to Thomas Barnes of Hartford and Farmington. Whether any of these clerks knew that their fellow townsman was connected even remotely with any of the prominent Essex Barneses cannot now be determined; but if they did not think so it would have been easy for them to follow the easy way of omitting the "e", as clerks pro tempore frequently did in their references to Thomas, in both Hartford and Farmington.

But the young Thomas Barnes who went to Connecticut in or about 1636 probably knew little indeed of his English background, for he was illiterate, as will appear. Nevertheless, now that we have opened up the subject thus much, we can readily go on, in satisfaction of natural curiosity, to explore briefly into the facts concerning English Barneses who in some way may have affected our Thomas. Preceding therefore, we find that seats of residence of Barnes families have been distributed widely over England. In the North Counties, they are chiefly in Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancaster, and in the South principally in Dorset, Hantshire and Wiltshire. Also one can find some ground for an assumption that the parents of Thomas Barnes of Hartford lived in Essex or Norfolk, as will soon be seen.

Some Barneses enjoyed fairly glamorous lives. Such were . . . Barnes, (the given name unknown) who was Lord Mayor of London in 1370-71, and two other Lords Mayor, father and son, each named George Barnes. They served in 1586 and 1652.[4] Also there was a Robert Barnes, (1495-1540) reformer and martyr, and a Barnaby Barnes, (1568-1609) the fourth son of the Bishop of Durham.[5] Barnsby was a poet, of whom it is claimed that he wrote some of the sonnets which are commonly assigned to the authorship of Shakespeare.[6]

BARNES COATS OF ARMS

That Thomas Barnes of Hartford descended from any one at all of the celebrated worthies of England has not as yet been proved. This

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[1] Savage; also Love: Colon. Hist. of Hartford; 184;
[2] Town Clerk of Farmington; letter.
[3] Savage.
[4] John Burke: Enc. of Heraldry (pubd. 1851).
[5] Pubcns. of Harleian Soc: Vol. xiv (1879): p. 558.
[6] Enc. Brittanica (14th Edition) vol. III; 122.

is not equivalent to saying that no such descent in fact exists, nor that it is otherwise incapable of proof. Rather it means that the field of search is large and has not yet been explored adequately. As justifying this view we note that in England in 1851 as many as 17 different coats of arms were found allowable to as many groups of families named Barnes, besides five named Barne and two Barneis or Barners ones. Another instance is that of a pedigree purporting to derive from "sr Gyles Barnes Knight"—elsewhere known as William Barneis—"of the 18 yere of Rychr the fyrst." He would therefore have lived in the 12th Century. This lineage carries through twelve generations to a Barnes-Hansard Family who lived in Essex in the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553)[1]. In this reign Heralds in Essex had performed official Visitations[2]. It happens, too, that the period corresponds with what were probably the early years of the grandparents of Thomas Barnes of Hartford.

Interesting though it would now be to find that the grandparents of Thomas Barnes were members of the Barnes-Hansard family, no direct proof of that is at hand, nor is there absolute proof that he was akin to Sir Gyles Barnes of the time of King Richard I, nor for that matter to anyone else of the gentility. Nevertheless, some ground exists for belief that Thomas of Hartford came from where many of the other first settlers of Hartford had lived[3].—This was in Essex, where the Barnes-Hansard family lived, too;—and it would seem singular indeed that a surname so long and so much in evidence, as we now know the Barnes one to have been, would belong to anyone who had not descended from England's recognized gentry.

Now, notwithstanding that thorough investigation of the subject does not seem ever to have been made and that pursuit of it now may prove dreamy, let us remind ourselves that a little time spent in dream-

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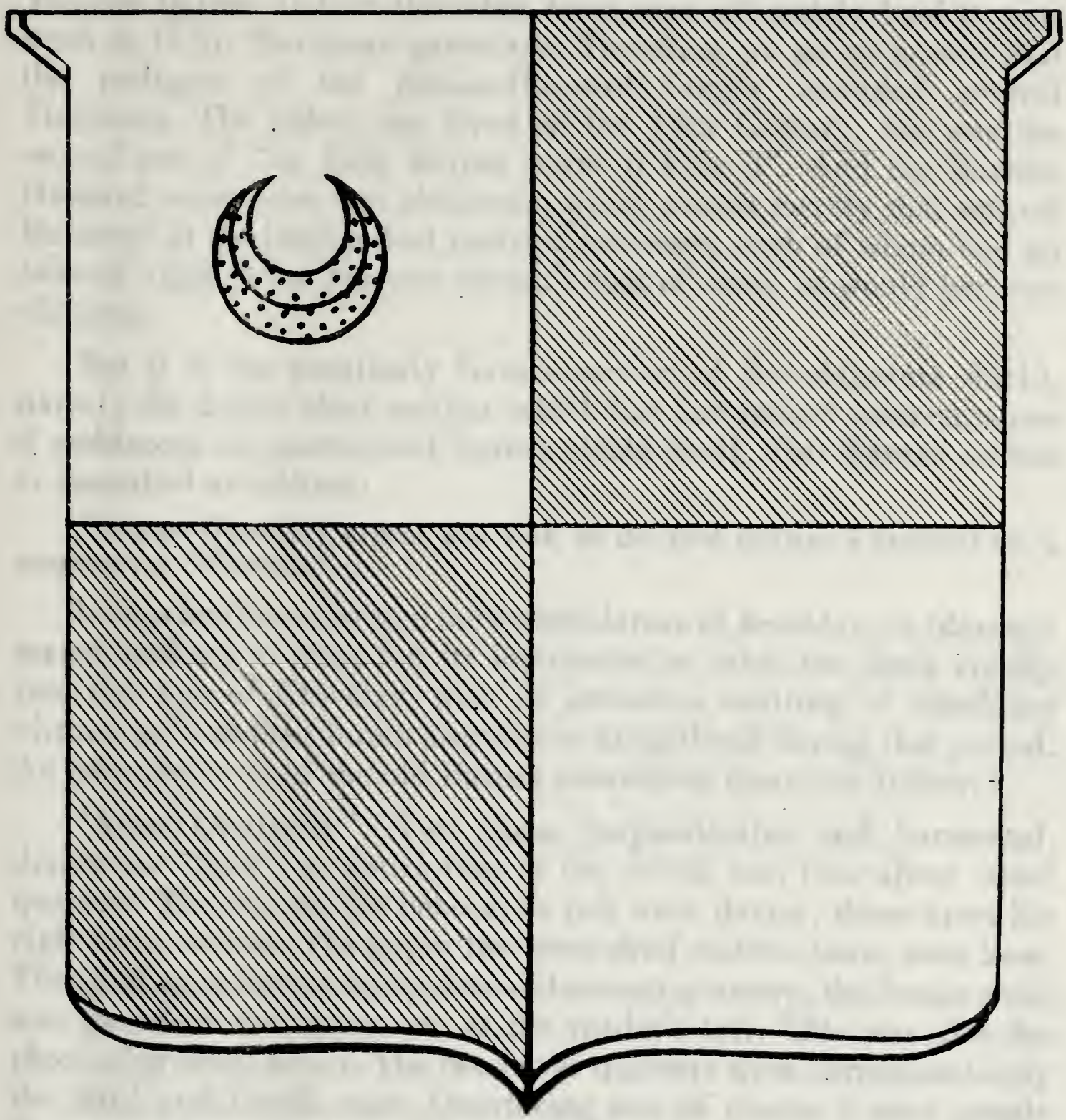
[1] Pubcns. of Harleian Soc: Vol. xiii, containing official reports of Visitations in Essex about 1550; we now explore Vol. xiii, pp. 1-4 and 7; also xiv: 547.

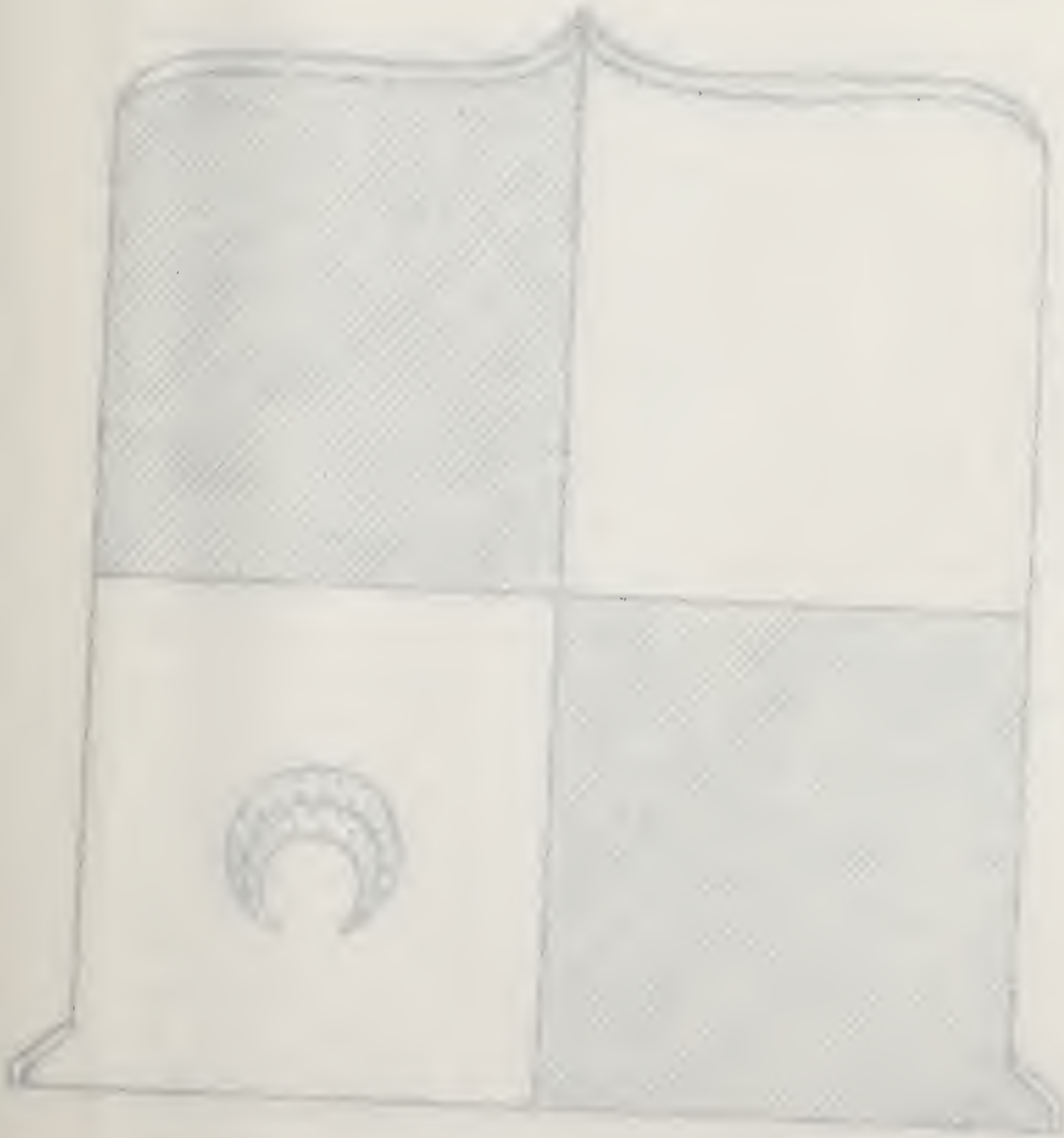
[2] Enc. Brit. (14th Edtn.) iv; 103: "Visitations were authorized as early as the 20th year of Henry VIII (1509-1547). They were investigations by duly authorized heralds, who called upon the gentry in order to correct abuses which had arisen in the use of arms following the great social revolution of the 16th Century. Unfortunately, however, some heralds were of indifferent character and none had too much time to spare on individuals' genealogies; wherefore men's memories and heresay of the countryside too often constituted the backbone of the heralds' records of pedigrees. Hence, too, genealogies which profess to carry back to the Tudors or prior reigns take on a tinge of inaccuracy, if not of forgery.

Following the accession of William and Mary (1689), large numbers of genealogies have been recorded in the Register of the College of Arms at London. These contrast remarkably in value with those of the Tudor heralds' findings.

[3] G. Andrews Moriarty, of N. Eng. Histl.-Genl. Soc.; letter.



BARNES



ing about it cannot possibly do any harm to any of the descent of Thomas Barnes and on the other hand may ultimately lead to new truth as to his European parentage. Therefore we go on to note that the pedigree of the Barnes-Hansard family included several Thomases. The eldest one lived in the 14th Century. He was the second son of "Sr John Barnes borne 6 Edw 3". And the Barnes-Hansard escutcheon was elaborate, which means merely that several Barneses in the lineage had married heiresses, each of whom had an heiress' right to use her own parent's coat of arms, as would her own children.

But it is the peculiarly Barnes section of the elaborate shield, namely the dexter chief section, which has our special interest, since it emblazons the patriarchal Barnes shield itself. This Barnes section is described as follows:

"Arms—Quarterly argent and vert, in the first quarter a crescent or, a crescent for difference".

Unless one has mastered the nomenclature of heraldry, its blazonry means nothing to him; but its interpretation takes one back vividly into the Age of Chivalry, with its attendant exalting of ennobling virtues, such as the Church ascribed to knighthood during that period. An interpretation of the old Barnes escutcheon therefore follows:

"Arms Quarterly": Two lines, perpendicular and horizontal, divide the "field", or entire face of the shield, into four about equal quarters. The two on the beholder's left were dexter; those upon his right were sinister. The upper two were chief and the lower ones base. The chief were known as the first and second quarters; the dexter chief was therefore the upper one at the reader's left. This was also the place of greatest honor. The two lower quarters were correspondingly the third and fourth ones. Quartering was of course a very simple device, perhaps the first to be adopted. By its use a friend might identify a knight in full armor who otherwise might be ignorant of the warrior's identity.

The Barnes blazon continues qualifying with the words "argent"

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[1] To the reader, the dexter side of a shield appears at the left: but for its bearer the dexter side was his right.

[2] To blazon is to describe heraldic or armorial bearings, or emblems, in technical language. A blazon is such a description. Also, the blazon may stand for the coat of arms. In the 15th and 16th Centuries, coats of arms were light garments, worn over the armor and often charged (marked) with heraldic bearing such as the bearer assumed. Further, the blazon might mean the shield itself. Sometimes the shield was called the escutcheon.

and "vert". They meant respectively silver and green. Doubtless need for coloring arose after knights took to full armor and wore helmets which covered their faces. If they traveled far, simple quartering would no longer be practicable. In the case before us, silver covered the dexter chief and green the sinister chief. Now upon reading again the Barnes blazon we note that it fails to specify colors for the base quarters. This was omitted by the herald because conventionally it was known that the Barnes third quarter would be green and the fourth silver; in other words, with only two colors specified on a quartered shield, the colors of the two base ones would be in diagonal relationship to the chief ones.

Heralds could not well tinge their drawings of a shield; so another convention was adopted. In the case which we are following, no coloring at all on the first and fourth quarters meant that they were silvered; and conventionally to indicate green, the herald's drawing made the second and third quarters carry the herald's drawing diagonal lines with a downward stroke to the right.

Perhaps medieval quartering was a sufficient identifying device before the great expeditions known as the Crusades (1096-1272) and it was after the Crusades that colors, or tinctures, came into use. At any rate, it was during the reign of Richard I (1189-1199) that Sir Gyles Barnes is shown as having colors on his shield; and King Richard, we remember, was active in the Third Crusade.

The blazon continues:

"In the first quarter a crescent".

This was a half-moon with its horns uppermost. It told observers that the shield belonged to a *second* son in a family whose arms had been simply "quarterly argent and vert". In this family, if there were, for example, a third son, he too might display the quarterly argent and vert, but he must add a mark looking like a five-pointed star but which was in fact meant to represent a rowel, or the pointed wheel in a knight's spur. The rowel would thus mark the difference between the right of the third son to use the family arms and others' rights.

The herald's record shows further that the crescent in our Barnes blazon was "or". This is French for "gold". If the description of the arms were drawn, the crescent would be sown to dots, as indicating the color gold.

Finally, it was a "crescent for difference". From what has been stated concerning the rowel, we appreciate that the use of the

escutcheon had come along in time until the Barnes-Hansard right to it was claimed through descent from a second son rather than any other. The crescent marked this "difference". This son, we recall, was the first Thomas out of several of that full name who are mentioned in the Barnes-Hansard lineage of 1550 or so.

Any emblazoned colors had a meaning. What each stood for indicates that the Church had gained a tremendous hold upon knighthood, a matter which by itself is surprising when we recall how rough and harsh those centuries of the Middle Ages were and that the people then were not much removed from the barbarism of their own forefathers in Julius Caesar's time. Silver is supposed to have symbolized purity and charity; green meant hope and joy. Gold signified wisdom, material success and elevation of mind. Such qualities are sweet, gentle and ennobling; such a condition betokens industry, law and order. To show on one's shield any emblem of such ideals meant—Did it not?—that the Patriarch of that house, or so it was claimed, had stood for them and that the wearer was ready to battle for their preservation. Silver, green and gold exalted purity, charity, hope, joy, wisdom, success in practical affairs and uplifting qualities of mind generally. These qualities are what Thomas Barnes, a second son of the time of King Edward III (1327-1377), held up for his descendants to observe; and as wearers of his blazonry the members of the Barnes-Hansard family were in honor bound to abide in those ways of life.

It was a Barnes family living in Essex in the time of King Edward VI (1547-1553) whose escutcheon we have been interpreting, one which exalted moral excellence. It would almost be surprising if, two generations or so later, some of the descent of this family were not to be numbered among the Puritans of Essex who went to the New World and became the Founders of Hartford there. Perhaps one was Thomas of Hartford.

But manifestly much remains to be learned before we can feel confidence in a hypothesis of such kind. We need to keep in mind that other groups of gentle families named Barnes paralleled in time—at least in part—the descent from Sir Gyles with his "quarterly argent and vert". Some of these others blazoned "azure three leopards' heads"; others were "quarterly blue and red", or "a cross gold", or "silver two bars", or "two lions standing on guard". Notwithstanding that none of these last four groups are shown as residing in Essex, Thomas of Hartford *may* have derived from any one of them.

We are left, therefore, with a slight hope that Thomas of Hartford

belonged to the old-time family of Sir Gyles Barnes and that even yet, in the shadow of that knight's vert—his green which symbolized his joy and hope—some one may perhaps in time find out the full truth as to the descent from him to Thomas Barnes of Hartford.

THE VOYAGE TO NEW ENGLAND

Captain Edward Johnson has left us, in his Wonder-Working Providence,[1] an exposition of events occurring during 1628-1651. At Chapter XIV he paused to comment:

"—take here a fhort furvey of all the Voyages by Sea—for fiteene years fpace to the yeare 1643—: the number of Ships that tranfported paffengers in this Space of time, as is fuppofed, is 298[2]. Men, Women and Children paffing over the wide Ocean, as near as at prefent can be gathered, is alfo fuppofed to be 21,200 or thereabout".

With reference to these 21,200, note the following:

"—The usual claim is that about 6,000 were original male progenitors of families. Investigations have been made of origins of 2,646 emigrants who arrived in Massachusetts and whose family connections are positively known, or about whom enough has been ascertained to establish a satisfactory clue to their origin".[3]

Comprised among the 2,646 we do not find a Thomas Barnes. That number makes about 45% of the total 6,000; so the remaining 3,354 are obviously classifiable as about 55% of the original progenitors of the Yankees of whose English parentage no great certainty exists.

Of the known 45% we read:[4]

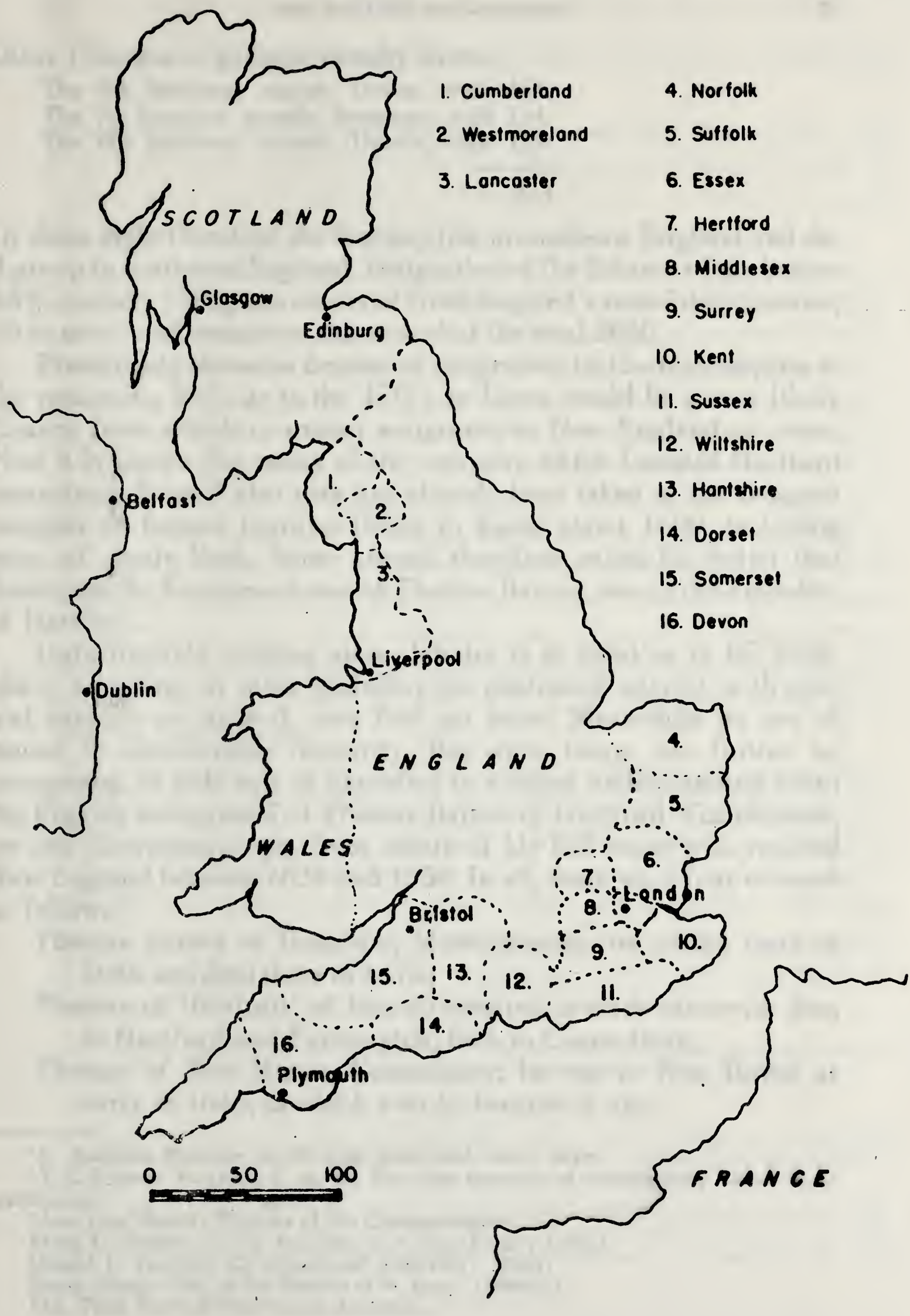
"—The heaviest emigration was from	Suffolk,	namely	266;
and the next heaviest was from	Essex,	namely	244;
then came	Kent,	with	188
and	London,	with	171.
The sixth in order was from	Norfolk,	with	160.
			1029.

[1] The original edition was published in 1654 in London, as a "History of New England." In 1910 a re-edition was put out by Prof. J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D., LLD.

[2] That the Captain had inscribed his 298 inadvertently is suggested in the first sentence of his Chapter XIV, which begins: "You have heard of about 198 Ships Paffing the perillous Ocean—" Dr. Jameson notes the discrepency and mentions that Governor John Winthrop, in his "Journal" for 1630-1643, specifies in 60 instances the number of passengers brought, their average number being a little over 100, as would also be true of 198 ships bringing 21,200 passengers.

[3] Chas. Edw. Banks: Planters of the Commonwealth (1620-1640): pubd. 1930; pp. 12-13.

[4] Banks; Planters of the Commonwealth; pp. 12-13.


1. Cumberland
2. Westmoreland
3. Lancaster
4. Norfolk
5. Suffolk
6. Essex
7. Hertford
8. Middlesex
9. Surrey
10. Kent
11. Sussex
12. Wiltshire
13. Hantshire
14. Dorset
15. Somerset
16. Devon
SCOTLAND
Glasgow
Edinburg
Belfast
Dublin
Liverpool
ENGLAND
WALES
Bristol
London
Plymouth
FRANCE
0
50
100

Other Counties of greatest density were:

The 5th heaviest, namely Devon, with 161.
The 7th heaviest, namely Somerset, with 134.
The 8th heaviest, namely Dorset, with 119.

414

Of these eight Counties, the 5-group lies in southeast England and the 3-group in southwest England. Emigration of the balance of the known 45%, namely 1203, was scattered from England's remaining counties, 30 or more, and completes this record of the total 2646.

Presumably the same density of emigration by Counties applies to the remaining 55% as to the 45%; so Essex would be a very likely County from which to expect emigrants to New England to come. Now it is known that many of the company which founded Hartford came from Essex;[1] also note has already been taken of the frequent mention of Barnes families living in Essex about 1600, including some of gentle birth. Some ground therefore exists for belief that Essex was the European home of Thomas Barnes, one of the Founders of Hartford.

Unfortunately nothing more definite is at hand as to his birthplace, parentage or other kinfolks; but continued interest, with time and expense not spared, may find out more. Meanwhile we are of course in considerable obscurity. But some things can further be recognized, as aids now or hereafter to a better understanding about the English background of Thomas Barnes of Hartford. For instance, we can discriminate him from others of his full name who reached New England between 1634 and 1656. In all, there were four or more as follows:[2]

Thomas Barnes of Hingham, Massachusetts; he settled there in 1636 and died there in 1672;

Thomas of Hartford; of him no mention is made otherwise than in Hartford and Farmington, both in Connecticut;

Thomas of New Haven, Connecticut; he was in New Haven as early as 1644, in which year he became of age;

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[1] C. Andrews Moriarty, of N. Eng. Hist.-Genl. Soc.; letter.

[2] T. C. Barnes: Yearbook I; pp. 4-6. For other instances of contemporary Barnes immigrations see:
Chas. Edw. Banks; Planters of the Commonwealth;
Frank L. Holmes; Dir. of Anc. Hds. of N. Eng. Fams.; (1923)
Donald L. Jacobus; Ct. Officials of 1636-1677; (1935)
James Savage; Dir. of 1st Settlers of N. Eng.; (1860-62)
Eliz. Todd Nash; Fifty Puritan Ancestors.

Thomas of Marlborough, Massachusetts; he came to America in 1656.

Also, nothing now known indicates that he married in England; and of the half-dozen or so of other Barnes immigrants of that Seventeenth Century none can be regarded as Thomas' father; so we may assume that he was a single young man when he came.

It is to the point, too, to note that, by 1634, Archbishop Laud of London had begun his "Reign of Thorough", a system of severe harassment of Puritans, especially around London. This of course includes Essex. Under such conditions it might readily be that Thomas was a refugee or was smuggled out of England while heavy fines were depleting or ruining his parents' fortunes. We can remember, too, that ships of his day were small sailing vessels which took from one to three months to make the voyage, that Captain Johnson's 198 ships and 21,200 arrivals meant average rosters of a little over 100 passengers per boat, and that with such loads captains might easily enjoy brisk business to Boston during the span of the fury of Archbishop Laud.

But we have no direct evidence that Thomas of Hartford was aboard any boat to Boston. Can it be that he entered under an assumed name? Or that all record has been lost of the voyage of the ship on which he took passage?

A very different possibility is that he reached New England indirectly, or via the West Indies. At that time many ships were sailing to Barbados or St Christopher (St. Kitts). Occasionally a captain might discharge his freight and passengers for those points and then cruise around for tropical products, spices, sugar and molasses[1] and when loaded proceed home via Boston without veering much from the great circle course which he otherwise would have followed. A record of one such vessel is suggested from what appears in a

"—Register of the names of all ye Passimger wch Passed from ye Porte of London for on whole yeare Endinge at Xp'mas, 1635"[2].

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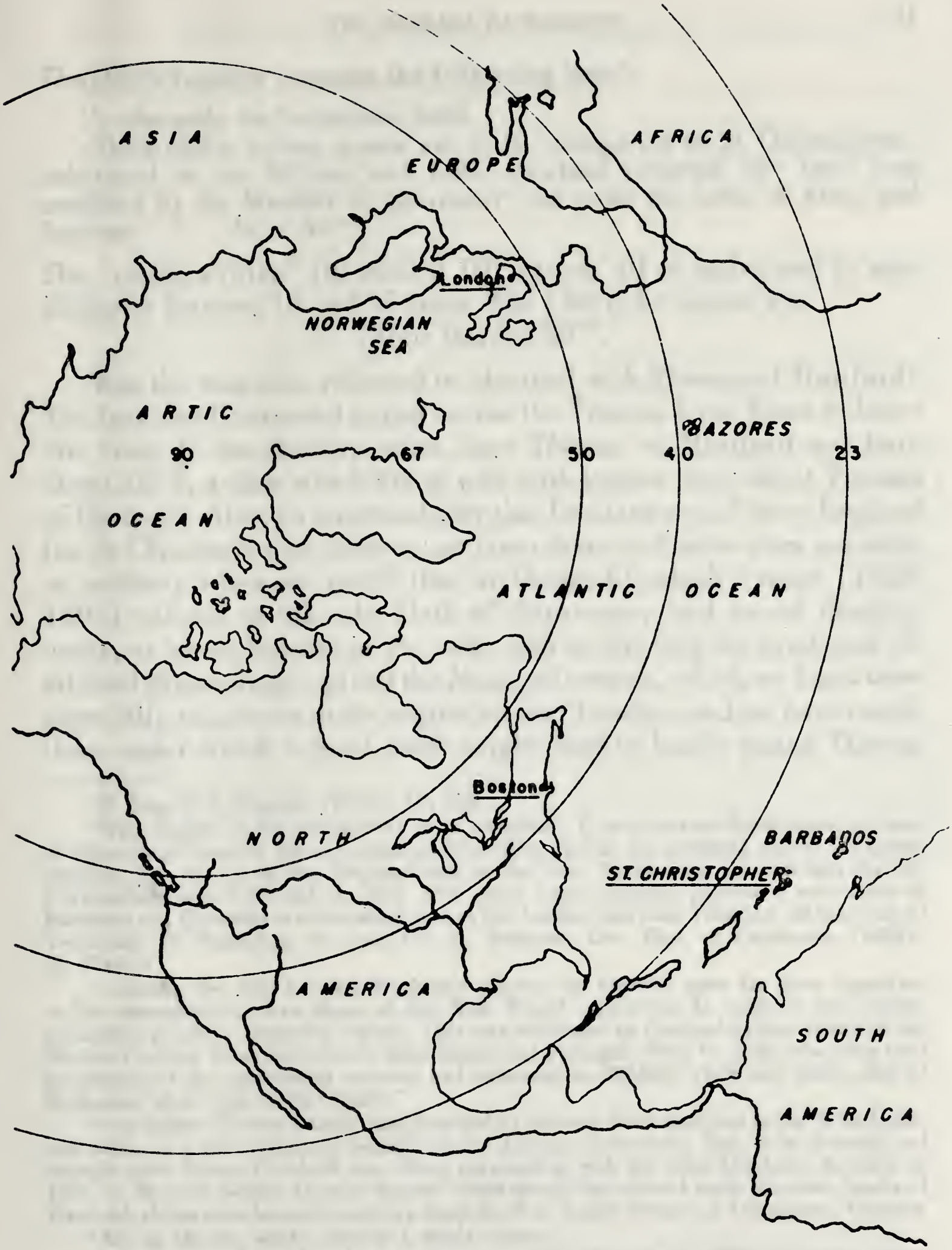
[1] John S. Bassett: Short Hist. of U. S. (1926), p. 141: Rum was made out of molasses. In the 1700's it is estimated that the annual production of rum in Boston was over 1,000,000 gallons.

*He might go via the Azores, to the West Indies and return via Boston; or if he went via Boston he could return from St. Christopher via the Azores; but presumably he could sell more tropical goods in New England than the Azores and would therefore be more likely to return via New England.

[2] N. Eng. Hist.-Ganl. Register (1860), vol. 14: 347: Emigrants for St. Christophers, etc."


ASIA
EUROPE
AFRICA
London
NORWEGIAN
SEA
ARTIC
OCEAN
AZORES
90
67
50
40
23
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Boston
NORTH
BARBADOS
ST. CHRISTOPHER
AMERICA
SOUTH
AMERICA

The ship's register contains the following item[1]:

"—Secundo die Septembris 1635

Theis under written names are to be transported to St Christophers[2]: imbarqued in the William and John—Rowland Langram Mr[3] have been examined by the Minister of Gravesend[4] and tooke the oaths of Alleg. and Suprem: die et Ao'."

The "under written" list totaled 101 names, all of males and in ages allegedly between 15 and 35 years. The 14th to be named was

"Tho: Barnes 20"[5].

Was the man thus referred to identical with Thomas of Hartford? The fact that Gravesend is just across the Thames from Essex bolsters this view. If the identity exists, then Thomas of Hartford was born about 1615, a date which fits in well with known facts about Thomas of Hartford. Also, an improbability that Puritans would leave England for St Christopher in order to get from there to Boston does not seem so unlikely when we recall that in Queen Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603) refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy had meant death to many, or worse horrors of the rack. Add to this fact the harsh and ill-advised proceedings against the Non-conformists, which we know were especially numerous in the region around London, and we have conditions under which a local panic might readily hustle young Thomas

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[1] N. Eng. H-G Register (1860): 14; 355.

[2] Why should St. Christopher(s) be a terminus? It is a narrow, little island perhaps 20 miles long, lying off the east coast of Porto Rico and at the northerly end of the Lesser Antilles. The answer is that England took in the New World what was left and that St. Christophers was colonized in 1623. Two years later England planted a settlement in Barbado(e)s. Barbados is at the south end of the Antilles and near Trinidad, off the coast of Venezuela. Of Barbados, we read (W. C. Webster: Gen. Hist. of Commerce (1903); II. 174-5):

"—during the 17th Century England's colonies in America were far more important to her commercially than those of the New World continents. In most of the islands, plantation products increased rapidly. This was welcomed in England as also releasing the Mother Country from dependence upon Spain and Portugal. Even by 1700, when the total population of the continental colonies had increased to 250,000, white and black, that of Barbadoes alone passed that figure."

Even before Thomas Barnes' day England's relatively brisk business in the West Indies had taken on a new attraction because of the African slave trade. This, it is claimed, had brought even Queen Elizabeth into silent partnership with Sir John Hawkins. As early as 1616, or 20 years before Thomas Barnes' name should be entered upon the town books of Hartford, slaves were being brought up from the West Indies for sale at Jamestown, Virginia.

[3] Mr, or Master, would refer to a ship's captain.

[4] Gravesend, in Kent, lay close to the mouth of the Thames. The "Minister" was doubtless a civil and not a religious officer. The Act of Supremacy dated back to Queen Elizabeth's time. It required an oath declaring that the sovereign of England was the supreme governor in all spiritual as well as temporal things.

[5] Figures placed after each passenger's name, as this "20", doubtless referred to the individual's disclosed age.

out of England by any available course, even so round-about a one as having him take ship to Boston under cover of passage to St Christopher. In such a time, who knows but that his parents' staunch resistence to Laud's agents had led to ruinous fines and thus had spurred on his hasty escape with little more than his life?

Emigrating thus, Thomas would be illustrating only what would go on centuries later, when refugees from Europe would leave their businesses and homes, glad to have saved their lives—even they alone—as they left their dear ones dead, or imprisoned, or worse, and counted themselves fortunate that they might at least hope to start afresh in a land of liberty.

For the young Englishman of 1635/36, what a thrilling event this chance to see the world would then become. An easy guess is that he had left home free to settle in the tropics if life there should appeal to him, but that his early Puritan training would set him strongly against conditions then prevailing in the West Indies, where slavery and piracy would be rampant. He would be glad to go to folks of his kind in Boston or Newton, people who were kindly, sober, industrious and God-fearing, who valued freedom more than life itself.

In imagination, then, and for lack of a more substantial hypothesis, we take it that Thomas Barnes of Hartford was a young man from Essex, England, that he reached Boston in the fall of 1635, and quickly was caught up in the sweep of affairs which was to lead to the settlement of Hartford and to such part as he was to have in its life there. To this we now turn.

HARTFORD DAYS

THOMAS BARNES' HOMESTEAD

When the Venturers were deciding in 1635 upon a site for their homesteads, they probably had prudently in mind a place which would shield them from Indian attacks, such as a hill not easily approached. Their selection of Hartford sustains this requirement, as in the first place it was on a hill of at least modest height. From the east it was invulnerable, due to the width, a furlong to a quarter-mile or so, of the Connecticut River. Also, along the south side of their chosen site flowed Park River. While this stream was only 50 to 75 feet wide, the surrounding terrain was so uneven as to afford something of an obstruction from the mouth of Park River, at Dutch Point, back northwesterly for about a mile. Then, along the west, Gully Brook made a defense-contour as it reached north from Park River for about a quarter of a mile before branching into a "Y". The east branch of this Y continued northerly for another quarter of a mile and then merged into uplands which spread northeasterly for about a furlong—maybe a distance of two city residential blocks of ordinary size. For there, the uplands sloped down easterly to lowlands and swamps of the Connecticut, thus making an irregular north boundary-line to the settlement's lots.

The uplands just mentioned were doubtless what the Venturers knew as The Neck. They are a comparatively narrow strip connecting the townsite with an indefinite expanse to the west and northwest which became pasture commons. To the southeast the Neck projected into the townsite for a quarter-mile, to Centinel Hill. As thus thought of, the townsite was not easy of access excepting along this Neck. The area enclosed comprised something less than a square mile of land, hand-shaped and extending southeast prone from a narrow wrist. The thumb and forefinger snuggle along Gully Brook and Park River. The tip of the middle finger reaches to the mouth of Park River and Dutch Point. The tips of the ring and little fingers mark the west edge of the Connecticut River. And the outside of the little finger crosses the expanse of that

river's lowlands to the slopes which rise to the uplands at the Neck which was the wrist. Crossing this wrist southwesterly, one comes again to slopes of the northeasterly prong of Gully Brook.* Finally, as a knuckle of the middle finger, Centinel Hill rose as a slight prominence.

The Venturers made use of a strategic advantage in their situation by placing their public square south of and about half-way between Centinel Hill and Park River and by building their individual homes in a cluster around there, or away from the Neck, from over which exposed opening the barbarians might make a night attack from the Wilderness upon the colonists, if the latter's number were small. Now it happens, however, that a homelot was laid out on the Neck at the up-end of the prong of Gully Brook and that it has been identified as a plot of land once granted to Thomas Barnes. Why he should receive that location is not clear; but if we postulate that he had come to Hartford in advance of the Hooker party, we can imagine that the Venturers found in him a useful and otherwise a desirable young man, that they had already pre-empted the safest spots for their own families and so that there was nothing better to offer him. Also it may have been granted to him because they would greatly wish to have a husky young man located there as a warder in event of impeding attacks. If too, the worst were to befall him there, it would not be as unfortunate, he being a man without family, as otherwise might be the case. In any event, his presence might perhaps save the lives of all the rest. In part consideration for that protection, it seems, an area of liberal size, as homelots then went, was allowed to him.

Be all that as it may, when eventually all land titles were to be registered, a few years later, one out of several tracts described as properties of Thomas Barnes was recorded as follows:[1]

"—One parcell in the weft feild containinge by Estimacon two acres two roods[2] (more or lefse) abuttinge vpon the high way leadinge from the Centinell hill to the Cowpasture on the North

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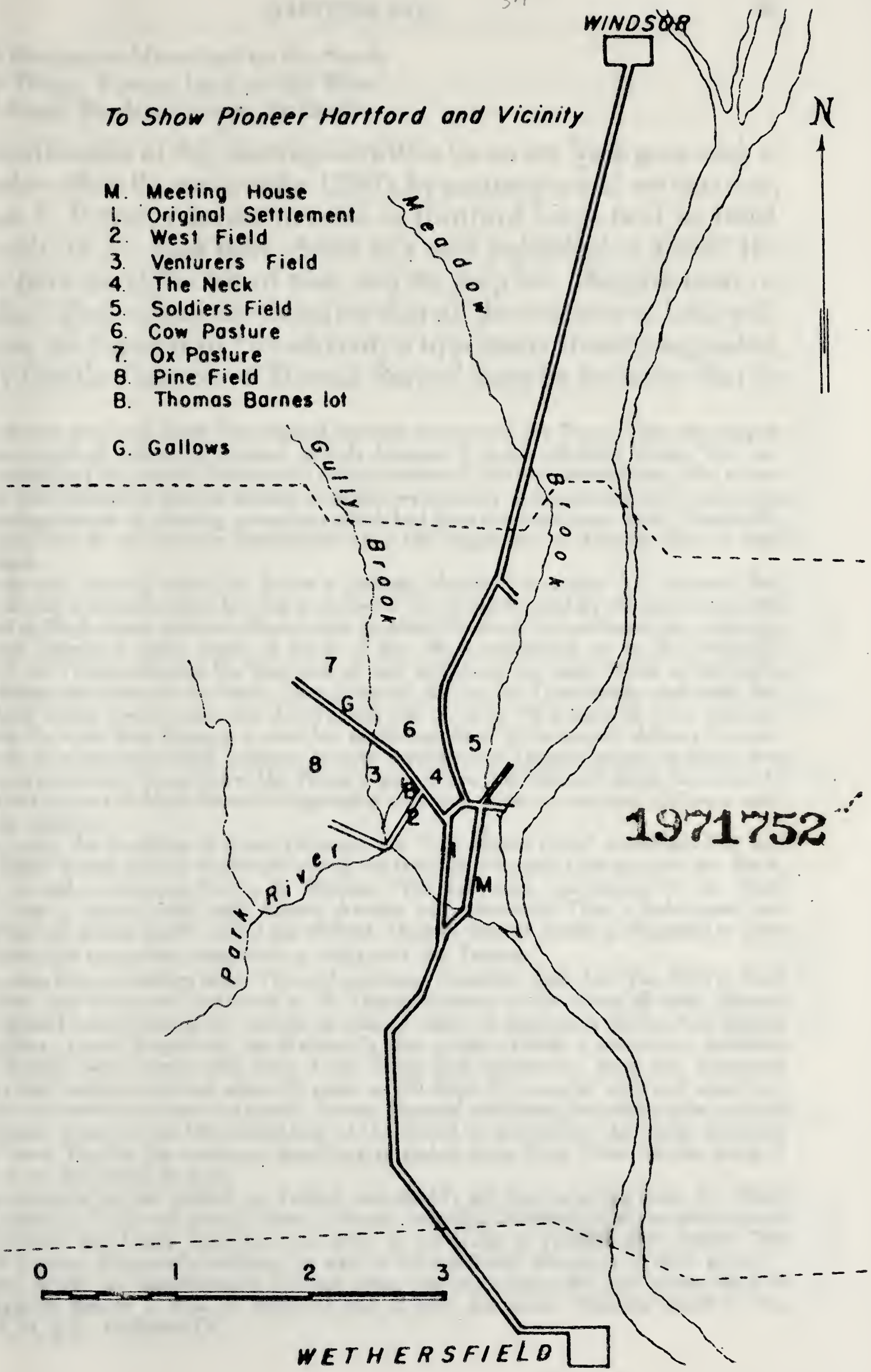
*After 300 years, civilization had gradually reduced the runway of Gully Brook to little more than a conduit, or even an underground drain. The N. Y., N. H. & Hfd. R. R. Co.'s grounds on Asylum St. lie close to its mouth, near the site of an early colonial mill. Excavation made in perfecting the railroad's grades has undoubtedly affected the landscape greatly; nevertheless the brook's banks remain; and visitors with a mind to visualize an aboriginal setting can readily imagine how welcome to the pioneers might be any aid to their safety which Nature would offer in these brook-sides, Park and Connecticut Rivers and in the swamps to the north of the townsite.

[1] Collections of Ct. Histl. Soc.: Vol. XIV (on Hfd. Land Distributions) p. 167.

[2] One rood equals 40 sq. rods, or ¼-acre.

34a


To Show Pioneer Hartford and Vicinity
M. Meeting House
1. Original Settlement
2. West Field
3. Venturers Field
4. The Neck
5. Soldiers Field
6. Cow Pasture
7. Ox Pasture
8. Pine Field
B. Thomas Barnes lot
G. Gallows
WINDSOR
N
Meadow
Gully Brook
Brook
Park River
7
G
6
5
8
3
B
4
2
1
M
0
1
2
3
WETHERSFIELD

1971752

"& Benjamins Muns land on the South
& Thom: Vpsons land on the West
& Nath: Bardens land on the East".

Identification of this description with a lot on the Neck goes back to researches officially made in the 1830's by a surveyor and antiquarian, William S. Porter, relevant to titles to Hartford lands held in 1640. The results of his work were shown in a map published in 1838.[1] His studies have stood the test of time and the map has officially been republished. Resting assured therefore that all the evidence at hand substantiates the Porter map,[2] we add only a hypothesis already suggested, namely that the location of Thomas Barnes' homelot indicates that he

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[1] This was prepared from the original records by vote of the Town. That the map is infallible cannot of course be claimed, largely because it is not officially known that surveyors established permanent monuments at the corners of the first settlers' lots. Mr. Porter doubtless was obliged to depend in part upon the permanency of long-established roads and upon the descriptions of abutting properties which had been recorded away back. Supposedly it was thus that he laboriously determined what the shape was of Thomas Barnes' land on the Neck.

We in turn, relying upon Mr. Porter's findings, therefore consider that Thomas' first homestead was a squarish tract located at the westerly corner formed by the junction of the north end of High Street with an elbow made by Main Street at its northwesterly extension where that extension turns north—a knob of the elbow extending up to the railroad's "Tunnel." To Thomas Barnes his land was at and outside of the apex of the acute angle, formed where the ends of the roads from Centinel Hill to the Cowpasture and from Mr. Allen's land to that pasture met. Mr. Allen's land was down by Park River and the mill-site.

From the apex thus formed, a road led northwest, later to be named Albany Avenue. Supposedly it went past a field, perhaps ¼-mile northwest of Thomas' place, in which was the place of execution, the gallows. Mr. Porter's map shows that Thomas' house faced northeast, at the stub-end of Main Street or beginning of Albany Avenue, as those highways were later to be named.

Soon after the invention of steam railways, the "New Haven Line," constructed up and beyond Gully Brook and its northeast prong, up through Thomas' land on into the Neck, severing it and continuing thence to Windsor. The railroad's excavations at the Neck required that a viaduct flush with Albany Avenue be constructed. Thus a hole about two blocks long was made, locally called the Tunnel. Thomas Barnes' house is supposed to have stood where this excavation was done, or right over the Tunnel.

[2] As seen three centuries later, Thomas' northeast boundary included Nos. 1395 to 1417 Main Street and continues northwest to 25 Albany Avenue, or for about 25 rods. Thence his line turned southwesterly for maybe 23 rods or about to the center of the New Haven Line's railway track. Singularly, the Railroad's blue prints exhibit a monument precisely where Thomas' west corner may have been. From that monument, then, his southwest boundary-line moved southeast about 25 rods, to 249 High St., parallel with and about ten rods from the northeast side of Atlantic Street. Thomas' southwest boundary thus cuts off the northeast wings of the Office Building of the Board of Education, the wings being on Thomas' land. Finally, his southeast boundary extended along High Street to the place of beginning, or for about 20 rods.

One standing on the viaduct, or Tunnel, can readily get the lay of the home lot. From its east corner at High and Main Streets it slopes westerly; its center is at the west corner of the Blodgett and Clapp building; and down in the Gully is Thomas' west corner. The Hartford Lumber Company's building lie west of his northwest boundary, a short ways.

These details are emphasizable through great courtesies upon the part of the office of City Engineer Robert J. Ross of Hartford and of Title Examiner Converse Smith of the N. Y., N. H. & H. Railroad Co.

received it very early in the history of the settlement of Hartford, or before May, 1636, but after the less hazardous sites had already been claimed by the Venturers themselves.

THE PEQUOT EXPEDITION

HARTFORD'S FOUNDERS, along with their freedom to improve their individual conditions in life, must have felt incentives to unity of action with their neighbors, namely Windsor, six miles up north and Wethersfield, four south. Thus conventions were soon being held, with delegates from the three settlements forming a "General Court."[1] Official unity was not, however, demanded from fear of neighboring Indians, the Sequins,[2] for they had welcomed the whites as powerful friends whose muskets would protect them from the fierce and wily Pequots.[3] Those warriors, 600 or more in number,[4] had a stronghold about 60 miles to the southeast along Long Island Sound; and from there, for some years prior to 1635, they had overlorded it upon the other tribes of the Lower Connecticut region. When then the Venturers neglected to dicker with the Pequots for a townsite and bargained with the vassal Sequins directly, it might well be anticipated that the domineering Pequots would retaliate upon both the Sequins and the immigrant colonists.

And surely enough, by the spring of 1637 the assertive Pequots adopted no halfway measures. At Wethersfield as farmers were attending to some spring planting, 100 Pequots surprised them in the field, massacring nine men and kidnaping two girls, one or both of whom were daughters of Mr. William Swayne, "Gentleman."

This important man speedily so bestirred himself that the General Court promptly selected an experienced soldier, John Mason of Windsor, to take command of troops. It also boldly declared war, invited the cooperation of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies and ordered levies of soldiers. The quotas were:

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[1] Public Records of Colony of Connecticut (Vol. I: Records of General and Particular Courts; Apr. 1636—Dec. 1649).

[2] Howard Bradstreet: The Pequot War (1933); p. 42.

[3] Bulletin 30 of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, Washington, classifies the Pequots as clearly part of the great Algonkin Family which covered New England and was akin to the Mohegans of the Lower Hudson River country. After the Pequot defeat, they attempted to flee to the Mohawks for protection. These Mohawks were part of the Lake Champlain offshoot of the Iroquoian Family, some of whom had recently pushed into the Lower Hudson region, and who were great fighters. The Pequots' ability and aggressive spirit has led to some belief that they were kindred of the Mohawks.

[4] Howard Bradstreet: Pequot War; p. 9.

From	Windsor,	30	men
"	Hartford,	42	"
"	Wethersfield,	18	"
		90	" in all

To get word to the sister colonies and then for their armed forces to reach Connecticut at all soon was very unlikely, and that the Indians would strike again soon was very likely; hence the life of the entire river settlements was staked upon the issue of an early battle between 90 soldiers and an enemy of overwhelming number. The colonists decided upon aggressive action, even though it must take place in the enemy's own country and on ground with which he was familiar and they were not.

In such a crisis, how essential it then became that all men able to bear arms should do so. Hartford had perhaps a score of unmarried young men who were being permitted to reside there until they might prove their fitness for citizenship by their godliness and industry in subduing their wild lands. If Thomas Barnes, for instance, as one of these, should enlist or be drafted—knowing full well, as he doubtless would, that torture and death might be awaiting him—the community might well assure him of its honor and gratitude and also of not only a place among them as an admitted freeman but also of money compensation for his service and a special grant of land.

Public records show that by 1640 Thomas Barnes was one among 20 or so who held land "lyinge in the fouldjer's feild"[1] Also a minute of the session of the General Court held in Hartford October 12, 1671, reads:[2]

"—This Court grants the following grants to those followeing whoe were Pequott soldiers—"

and continues by including among its specifications one to Thomas Barnes of 50 acres. Therefore we note further as follows:

The expedition of soldiers quickly made ready. On May 10, 1637, it started down the Connecticut River, Captain Mason in command. Rev. Samuel Stone accompanied the soldiers as chaplain. Upon their embarking, Rev. Thomas Hooker bade them Godspeed, in words reported to be as follows:[3]

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[1] Hfd. Land Distributions (Clctns. Ct. Histl. Soc.: XIV-167).

[2] Colon. Records of Ct. (1665-1667) II: 159-161.

[3] Hist. of U. S. "for Subscribers" (1823) p. 39, f. 11.

"—Fellow Soldiers, Countrymen and Companions:

You are here assembled by the special Providence of God. You are not collected by wild fancy nor ferocious passions. This is not a tumultuous assembly, such that its actions will prove themselves abortive, or, if successful, will produce only theft, rapine, rape and murder, crimes inconsistent with a soldier's valour. You, my dear hearts, were selected from your neighbors by the godly fathers of the land because of your known courage and to execute a Godly work.

Your cause is the cause of Heaven. The enemy has blasphemed your God and slain His servants; you are only the ministers of his justice. I do not pretend that your enemies are careless or indifferent. Their hatred is inflamed; their lips thirst for blood. They would devour you, and with you all the people of God. But, my brave soldiers, their guilt has reached the clouds. Their cruelty is notorious; and cruelty and cowardice are always united.

There is nothing therefore to prevent your certain victory but their nimble feet, their impenetrable swamps and their woods. From these your small numbers will entice them or your courage will drive them.

I now put the question: Who would not fight in such a cause—fight with dauntless courage?

Do you wish for more encouragement? More I give you. Riches indeed often awaken the Soldier's sword. Though you will not obtain silver nor gold upon the field of victory, you will protect what is infinitely more precious, for you will insure the liberties, the privileges and the lives of Christ's Church in the New World. You will procure safety for your affectionate wives, safety for your prattling, harmless, smiling babes. You will make more secure all the blessings enjoyed by the people of God in the ordinances of the Gospel.

But perhaps some of you may fear that a fatal arrow may deprive him of this honour. Let every faithful soldier of Jesus be assured that, if any servant be taken away, it is only because the honours of this world are too narrow for his reward; an everlasting crown is to be set upon his head, for the rewards of this life are insufficient.

March, then, with Christian courage and in the strength of the Lord. March with faith in His divine promises. Soon your swords will find their enemies. Soon they shall fall, like leaves in the forest, under your feet."

The record continues:

"As allies of these troops, 70 Mohegan and other River Indians accompanied the expedition. Arriving at Saybrook*, the company delayed some days, awaiting the hoped-for help from Plymouth, which did not come. So an independent plan of operation was formed and on May 26, about the dawn of day, Captain Mason surprised the enemy, at Mystic, in the present town of Stonington.

"Upon the whites' approach, a dog barked; and a Pequot, now discovering them, cried out, 'O, Wanu; O, Wanu,' meaning 'Englishmen.' Instantly Captain Mason's men pressed forward and fired. Soon the destruction of the enemy became terrible; but at length they rallied and made a manly resistence.

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*At the mouth of the Connecticut River.

"After a severe and protracted conflict, Captain Mason's troops became nearly exhausted. With the victory still doubtful, he cried out to his men, 'We must burn them'; and at the same instant seizing a fire brand, he applied it to a wigwam. The flames spread on every side rapidly. As soon as the sun had arisen upon the scene, it showed the work of destruction to be complete. On all sides Indians lay bleeding upon the ground, or smouldering in the ashes.

"But though victory was complete, the troops were now in great distress. Besides two killed, 16 of their number were wounded; and their surgeon, his medicines and other supplies, were all aboard the vessels bound for Pequot Harbour.[1] While consulting what to do in this emergency, great was the soldiers' joy to descry their vessels, upon a prosperous wind, standing directly toward their harbour.

"Soon after, a detachment of 200 men from Massachusetts and Plymouth arrived, too late to assist in prosecuting the battle. But they were available to pursue the enemy. Sassacus the Great Sachem of the Pequots and his warriors were so appalled by the destruction at Mystic that they had flown towards Hudson River. The reinforced troops pursued them as far as the great swamp at Fairfield[2]; and there another action took place, in which the Indians were entirely vanquished."

Of Thomas Barnes' part in the entire affair we have no detailed information. The engagement had indeed turned into a horrible massacre, far exceeding in intensity that which the Pequots had perpetrated a month before at Wethersfield; but the whites in their own defense might claim that no course of appeasement would have brought on a lasting peace from the aggressive Pequots, whereas a thorough rooting out of that tribe did result in permanent security.[3] Certainly vast became the relief in Hartford when folks there learned that the Pequots need no longer be dreaded; and great was the joy with which Thomas and his comrades would be welcomed back.

Soon the Town made good on its promises, explicit or implied. As of November 14, 1637, the General Court decreed pay for the private soldiers at one shilling three pence per day. Also, land close in soon became available, it seems, because the Sequins, who had been miserably shrinking under the shadows of Hartford's firearms, in their village in the river bottoms just north of the Settlement, now eagerly would abandon that place for better hunting grounds afar. Thus space was provided, as though to order, for America's first soldiers' bonus

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[1] Later at or near New London, Ct.

[2] Nearly 100 miles westerly along the Sound, or almost to the lower Hudson River country.

[3] This was to be for 40 years or more, or until King Philip's War; and eevn that terrible struggle did not rage in Connecticut. Colon. Record of Ct.; I; 11.

land. This acreage became known as Soldiers Field.[1] It was subdivided in general into ¼-acre lots, which was about large enough for a house-yard, orchard, garden, barn and barnyard.[2]

One bonus lot has already been referred to. As for 1640 it was recorded as belonging to Thomas Barnes. It was located perhaps a ½-mile northeast from Thomas' homestead.[3] The description as recorded is:[4]

"—One parcell lyinge in the fouldjers feild containinge by Estimacon one Rood (more or lefse) abuttinge vpon the little river on the East[5]
& the Swampe on the West
& Willm Philips land on the South
& Thom: Munsons land on the North."

It is safe to assume further that the bars to admission as a freeman were readily lowered for such returning soldiers as might apply and could qualify. Such men took oath, as follows:[6]

"The Oath of a Freeman"

"—I, A.B., being by the Pruidence of God an Inhabitant wthin the Jurisdiction of Connecticut, doe acknowledge myselfe to be subjecte to the Government thereof and doe swear by the great and fearefull name of the everlasting God to be true and faythfull vnto the same and doe submitt boath my prson and estate therevnto, according to all the wholesome laws and orders that there are, or hereafter shall be, made and established by lawfull authority, and that I will neither plott nor practice any ewell agt the same nor consent to any that shall doe, but will tymely discouer the same to lawfull authority there established; and that I will, as I am in duty bound, mayntayne the honner of the same and of the lawfull megestratts thereof, prmoting the public good of yt, whilst I still soe continue as Inhabitant there; and wheresoeur I shall giue my voate or suffrage touching any matter wch conserns this Comon welth being cauled thereunto, will give yt as in my conscience I shall judge may conduce to the best good of the same, wthout respect of prsons or favor of any man. Soe helpe me God in or Lord Jesus Christe

Aprill the Xth 1640."

We thus find confidence to believe that by 1638 Thomas Barnes was already established upon a 2½-acre homestead, had proved himself a man of courage and industry and was accepted into the fellow-

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[1] No official record of the survey of Soldiers' Field remains; but inferribly it covered about 28 acres lying north of later Pleasant Street and for the most part east of a road branching north from Main Street at Thomas' homelot.

[2] Commonly city residential blocks contains 2½ acres—about that.

[3] Perhaps in the river bottoms westerly from later Canton Street and the New Haven Line's right-of-way.

[4] Hfd. Land Distributions: 167.

[5] Doubtless Meadow Brook, so named on maps of the Farmington Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological Survey (Reprint of 1924).

[6] Colon. Records of Ct. I: 62-63.

ship of the Freemen of Hartford. Also nothing in the evidence so far adduced has destroyed our early hypothesis that he had come there before the Pequot Expedition, or when his residence on the Neck, as an outpost guard of the infant settlement, had shown the mettle which was in the young man, namely sterling.

THOMAS BARNES AND THE REFORMS OF 1639

It now becomes in order to examine a short stage in Hartford's life following the Pequot Expedition, with reference to Thomas Barnes' interests therein.

The Venturers having provided shelters to meet immediate family demands, they would next put up a meeting-house, something relatively large such as would serve for the hall of legislation, court house and church, as well perhaps as the school, or even the jail, and, if need should be, a fort. But they had hardly foreseen a need which soon would be felt, namely for a hall large enough to hold 100 people or more[1]. Hence over-crowding resulted, with neglect and damage to the first town records, and even to fragmentary losses[2].

However, much is left, enough to show a presumable tension as to shares of ownership in the vast surrounding unoccupied lands. This arose within a year or two following the Pequot Expedition. It consisted of a prospect that shrewd and sharp men of means might quietly possess themselves of the best lands as yet held in common, to the permanent disadvantage of ordinary mortals like the renters, sojourners and small landholders. Among those alarmed would likely be Thomas Barnes and others of the Pequot soldiers.

It is easy to believe nevertheless that the ministers and others of friendly and generous sprit would view askance even a suspicion that Hartford was to be saddled with any such land system of manors and their lords as prevailed in England. Consequently it is not surprising to find that, with the onset of winter in 1639, frequent Town Meetings of very thorough-going nature were being held in the meeting-house. Outgrowing from them is the following minute as of December 26th, 1639:[3]

"—Mr. Hopkins mr wells mr Steele and mr Taylcot are desired to asist vs in exsamening the devsions one either side the River[4] & to rectify the same

[1] Hfd. Town Votes: 16-24.
[2] Hfd. Town Votes: (Editor's introductory statements).
[3] Hfd. Town Votes: 10.
[4] Not the Connecticut, but Park River.

also to see whoe are Inhabitants to haue proporcons in all devesions & whoe are also to Inquier wt ordrs stand in forse wch are of genrall Concernmt wch are not recorded".

And as of the 7th of January 1639/40, we read:[1]

"—It is orderd that heerafter noe new devesion of land shalbe made by the Inhabetants of either side the River wthout the knowledg and Consent of the whole and If anny shouch Devesions shalbe made to be voyd and of noe offect".

What did these minutes mean? They suggest that if any clique of wealthy proprietors had granted, or contemplated granting, any of the common lands by devious courses, as at Proprietors' Meetings not well advertized, or through secret meetings of groups who assumed to have sole right to dispose of the unimproved lands, such courses must cease forthwith, because such lands were public property. It meant that control of such lands did not exist exclusively in the Proprietors as a financial partnership, for through equality of suffrage in Town Meeting this control was lodged in the Town as a political body.

So there was a showdown and an issue was settled over the way in which such lands would be disposed of.[2] Now the public lands stretched back from Hartford, east and west, for nobody knew just how far. They formed a belt which was five or six miles wide at the Connecticut River and indefinitely wider back a ways. Any rights to share in these lands would have considerable value, so much so that even the relatively small shares of the little owners ought to be settled beyond dispute. Therefore steps were now in order to that end. This might be reached by first taking a census of all "whoe are Inhabetants to haue proporcons in all devesions", as had been requested in a Town Meeting of ten days before; and apparently this is what led, as of

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[1] During the years from 1582 to 1752, a revised calendar which Pope Gregory XIII had instituted was not observed in England and her colonies, due to their antipathy to anything originating in the Papacy. So England's Old Style (OS) year began March 25th whereas the Gregorian (New Style—NS) year started with January 1st, twelve weeks earlier. Therefore Hartford's January 1639 (OS) followed December 1639 (OS) instead of December 1638. Careful English clerks, during the lapse of years being considered, were apt to use a double dating; for example, they would write January 1639/40.

[2] The change was revolutionary. In English law the King had, as to the colonies, the full sovereignty which had inhered in the ancient royal prerogatives; it was only in England that his power was circumscribed. But the Hooker party had moved into the Connecticut River country not under a grant from the King nor even by authorization of the Massachusetts Bay authorities, but upon its own initiative. Its own agents had bargained with the aborigines for such land as were secured and the inhabitants themselves had set up their own General Court upon their own motion. So the people were the sovereign owners of the undivided lands. Such would be the conclusion to be adopted as a result of the vote of Jan. 7, 1639/40.

January 14th, 1639/40, to an entry,—albeit an abrupt one, its presence unexplained—of two long lists.

The first list consists of 95 names[1]. It is captioned:

"—( ) Towns ( )
The Names of (such Inhabitants as haue)
Right to v(ndivided Lands)".

The 95 names are supposed to refer exclusively to Original Proprietors. The Original Proprietors may be classed as those who had been active, financially or otherwise, in the initial phases of the settlement of Hartford. In this list, the name of Thomas Barnes is not included.

The second list has 41 names. It is headed[2]

"—(The Names of such Inhabitances as were Granted lotts, To haue onely as the Townes Courtesie wth liberty to fetch wood & Keepe swine or cowes by proportion on the common)".

The list is not arranged alphabetically. The name Thomas Barnes appears in it as the tenth in order from the beginning. Inferentially the order is that in which lots had been granted "by the Townes Courtesie". The 41-group is considered as including the Proprietors by Courtesy,[3] that is, as grantees who received rights from the Town conditioned upon their becoming substantial settlers. Such a grantee must put up a house on his place within one year and either live there four years or become liable to lose his grant.[4]

Having thus determined by a 95-list and a 41-one who among the inhabitants were to have proportions in all divisions, a next logical step was to record the measure of each one's proportion, or right to share, in the public lands. Some investors had expended large sums, others very little, in what was an unwieldly partnership*. If, for instance, Mr. Haynes had helped to make Hartford a going concern 200 Pounds worth, while Zachery Field's investment was 20 Pounds worth, obviously Mr. Haynes had hazarded ten times as much as his neighbor;

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[2] Hfd. Town Votes: 19-20.

[3] J. H. Trumbull: Memrl. Hist. Hfd. Co. (1886): I; 229.

[4] Hfd. Town Votes; p. 1. Cf. the U S. Homestead Acts of the 19th Century, in their requirement that entrymen upon the public land must make "final proof" as to improvements and residence before patent to the land involved might be issued to them.

*The legal entity known as the 19th Century business corporation has not been invented in 1640; but evidently Hartford's promoters were sadly needing its conveniences. Thereby a shareholder's degree of power in control of proceedings is in ratio with his shares of stock in the company. Lacking such a measuring rod, the Proprietors had to make shift for one by use of "Ackers" as their unit for such measurement—so it appears—instead of using the term "share."

and it was in a venture which many had called foolhardy. So obviously Mr. Haynes' opinions, having by now proved sound, were entitled to great weight in further business matters affecting the common property. All this was not objected to, apparently.

But if it should develop that a dozen or so of the heavy investors were to undertake quietly to pick out the best lands for their own benefit and in disregard of the little fellows—the "poor hard-working men"—it certainly might protect these men if an official showing could be produced as to each proprietor's relative voting power.

So, apparently dated back as of January 3rd, 1639*, the minutes are continued by showing, again abruptly, two additional lists[1]. But first, per sequence of the minutes, about 20 bills were allowed[2]. The 14th in order reads:

"— pd Tho barns 2 0. 5. 0—"

This is believed to mean that Thomas Barnes had worked for the town two days, or at two jobs, for which he was to be paid five shillings. The schedule of other bills then being paid suggests that most of the payees were laborers.

Returning now to the two new lists of names: They are labeled "A" and "B". The following title to "A" apparently applies also to "B":

"(respect shall be made v)
((ffolloweinge and If anny man ( )
moor then this proporcon if he (will)
now It shal be abated in the next (Divis))
so much moore as thatis worse then that".

The names in "A" total 95, the same as in one of the lists of Jan. 7th. Also the names therein are considerably alike. But following each name in "A" is a figure, under caption "Ackers". They are in columnar form and range down from 160 to 6. They average about 34. Their total is 3,227.

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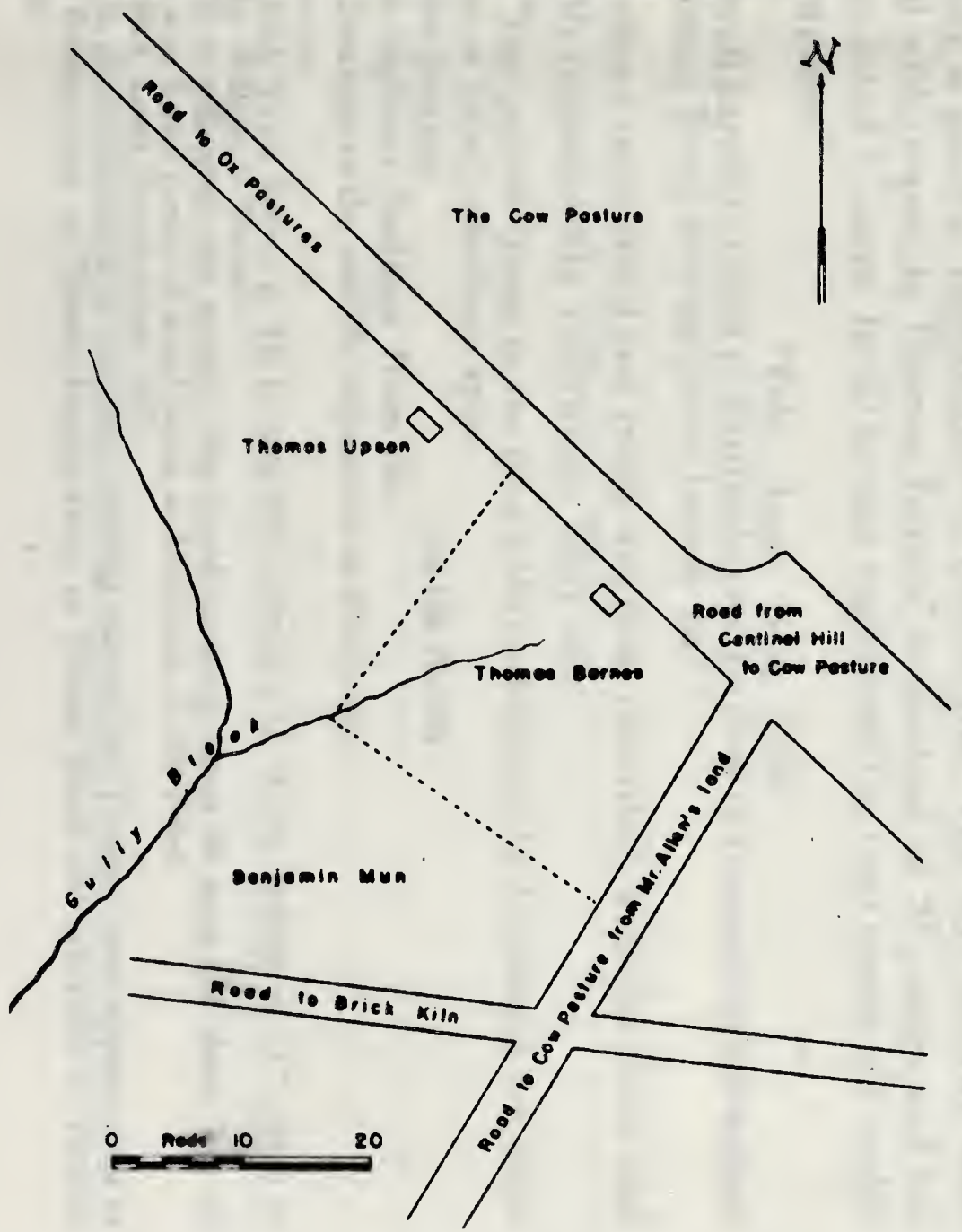
*The calendar introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 corrected a slight error in the Julian calendar. That had arisen because, in Caesar's invention of leap year, its intercalary February 29th slowed up reckonings too much as compared with astronomical time. Gregorian time overcame this by providing that only the centennial years which are divisible by 400 (e.g., 2000, 2400, etc.) shall have a February 29th. Then, to adjust Julian time to Gregorian, October 5, 1582, was advanced ten days and called Oct. 15, 1582.

England did not subscribe to this change until 1752. Hence, her computation in 1639 was not only ten days behind but one more day from her having observed 1700 as a leap year. So Jan. 3, 1639 (OS)—cf. ft. note (**), p. 19—was equivalent to Jan. 14, 1640 (NS).

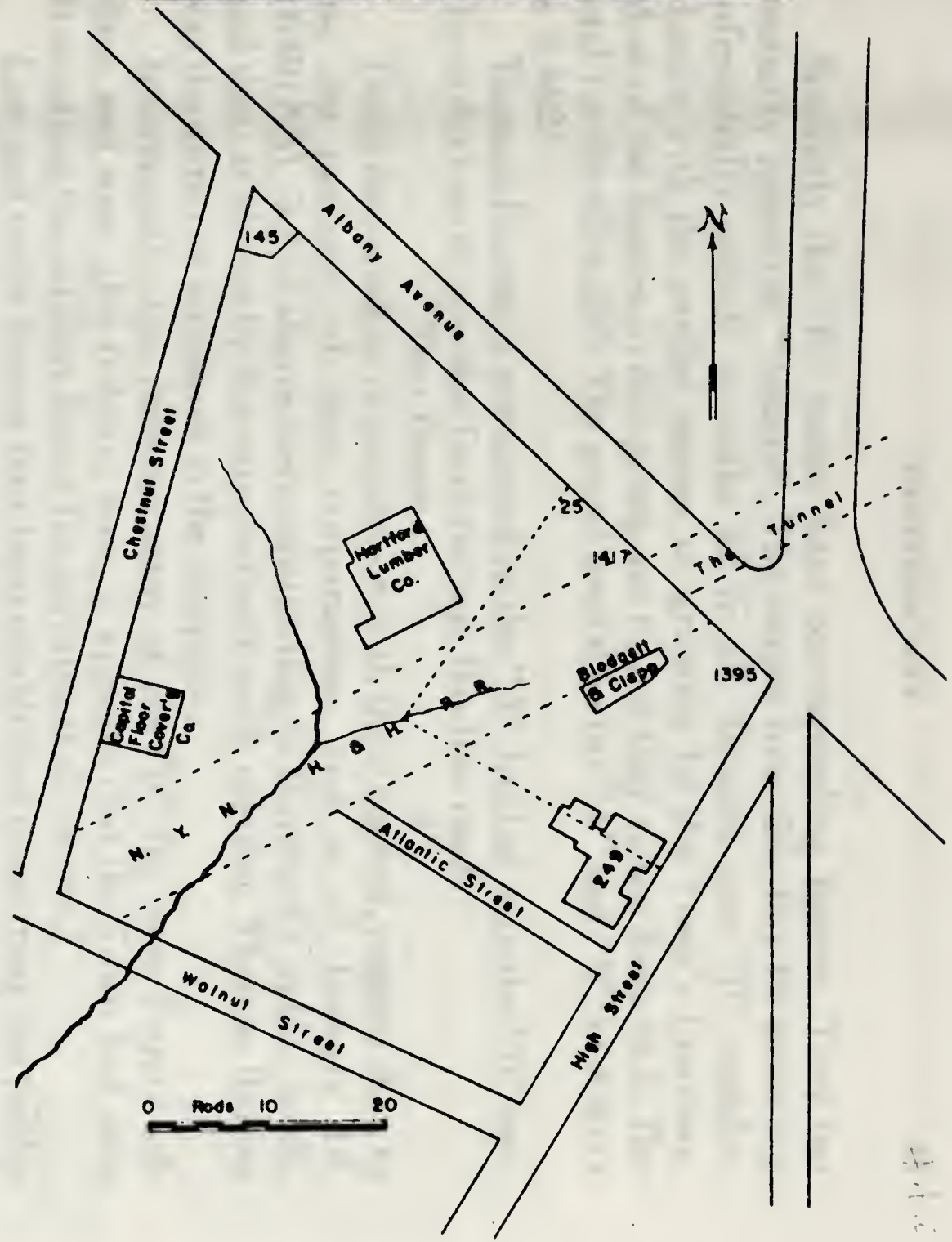
[1] Hfd. Town Votes: 21-24.

[2] Hfd. Town Votes: 21; also correspondence with former Secy. A. C. Bates, of Ct. Histl. Soc.

To Show Thomas Barnes' Homestead at Hartford as of 1640



To Show Corner of Albany Avenue and High Street in 1940



Similarly the "B" names have corresponding figures. They too probably represent "Ackers". The names total 26; but 16 more are inferentially added[1], to make 42 in all. In such case "B" matches closely with the earlier census of grantees by the Town's Courtesy. Most of the figures in this group are 6; but they range down to 3. The total for the 42 is 235. The grand total then for "A" and "B" in Ackers is 3,462.

Thomas Barnes is not named in the "A" list but is in the "B" one. His is the fourth in order from the top. His line reads:

"Tho: Barnes: 6".

These dates, taken in connection with their context, suggest that, to use the parlance of later corporations, and as of January 14, 1640(NS), 3,462 shares were outstanding in Hartford's public lands, and that, as shown by the corporation's stock register, Thomas Barnes was the owner of six shares in the company.

Inferentially, too, because many of the "B" list were Pequot soldiers and were also 6-Acker men, it appears that the Town had seen fit to adjust the soldiers bonus for privates at six shares.[2]

Law and order having thus been established concerning the public lands, one thing more was needed if all the lands were to be covered, namely a general registration of ownerships. This has already been noted with respect to Thomas Barnes' homestead of 2½-acres and his bonus lot of ¼-acre. In all he was registered for four tracts, all under the caption:[3]

"Febr Anno Dom 1639
"Severall parcells of land in Hertford vpon the river of Connecticut belonginge to Thomas Barns & to his heires forever viz".[4]

The above mentioned two tracts are then recorded, with the third and fourth immediately following. They are:

"One parcell lyinge in the pine feild containinge by Estimacon two acres (more or lefse) abuttinge vpon
the cow pasture on the North
& the highway leadinge from the
Swampe to the middle oxpasture on the South

[1] Hfd. Town Votes: p. 24, ft.-note with reference to "Histl. Notices of Ct." pubd. in 1842 by William S. Porter.

[2] It is estimated that roughly this would be worth about 60 acres per share. But all acres were by no means of equal value, as farmlands or otherwise.

[3] Hfd. Land Distributions: 167.

[4] In the registrations of numerous abutting ownerships, Thomas' name appears once as Tho: Barnes, once as Thomas barnes, twice as Thomas Barns and otherwise as Thomas Barnes.

& on John Warners land on the East
& on Sam: Hales his land on the west

"One parcell of Swamp on the East fide of the great River containinge by Estimacon foure acres more or lefse abuttinge vpon
the great River on the West
& the land now common on the East
& Paul Pecks land on the South
& Seth Grants land on the North"

Thus, all in all, Thomas Barnes had made a good start. For a young man about 25 years old in 1640, he had done more than well, especially if he had done it all single-handed. He had acquired a home which was well located, with an ample supply for many years of fuel for his house and feed for his stock. His location was very convenient to the commons, with their pasture just across the road. And he owned an interest in the public lands, something which probably would set up all his children in farming for themselves, some day. He was decidedly an eligible bachelor for some one of the demure maidens of Hartford or for someone visiting there among her kinfolks.

Recalling our initial interest in Thomas Barnes, as to any extent to which he might affect his descendants, we may well now take stock of the results of our search so far. As for direct evidences, they are practically nil, for what we are assured of is only that he had fought as a soldier from Hartford in the Pequot "War", had settled in Hartford and had become a land owner to the extent of about nine acres in fee, plus an undetermined acreage in the public lands. And in a negative sense we know that he was not outstanding enough to be an officer of the Town or Church; but this is not to be expected, for he was too young by 1640 to take a leading part.

The fact that he had made his own way among those pioneers indicates that he possessed to a marked degree qualities which have widely characterized the New Englanders. They were resourceful, brave and progressive. They were spirited, cheerful and self-sacrificing. They had strong convictions. They were intelligent, tenacious, inventive, frugal, hard-working. Schooled by hard necessity to take the initiative, they nevertheless prized cooperation within a common law whereby equal opportunity was open for all[1]. Yet they were censorious and they drank too much cider[2]. Religion and education were among their first concerns; as soon as possible a minister and teacher were provided.

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[1] Pamphlet prepared under direction of Commissioner E. W. Butterfield and the State Board of Education of Connecticut, to Characterize the History of Connecticut (1933).

[2] Collections Ct. Histal. Soc. 3: 322.

The recognized aim of the school was to teach reading enough so that one could read the Bible, and that he could write and cipher. They were neighborly. They enjoyed simple pleasures, such as competitions in strength, skill and speed, hunting and fishing, house-raisings and—warmings, bees and quiltings—all the more, probably, because of the hard battle for existence in which they struggled, for there were no labor-saving devices and what had to be done was done in the hard way.

It would be from a man of those sorts that the descent of Thomas Barnes would take on traits, some of them believably persisting into the fourth century after 1640. What an insight might thus have become available for scientists of that fourth century if reliable records had been made during the preceding first century of the manner of man that Thomas indeed was. If vastly increased information of that sort were at hand, who shall say that the eloquence of known truth about heredity would not go far in bringing to an end vice, iniquity, greed and war? Who will venture to predict that they will end before mankind does recognize his responsibility for continuing such evils in the world?

EARLY FARMINGTON LIFE

THE TRANSITION FROM HARTFORD

West from Hartford, a decidedly prominent skyline extends parallel to and seven or eight miles back from the Connecticut River. It crowns a ridge which locally consists of "mountains" and officially is The Talcott Range.[1] When the Pequots had been exterminated, the Sequins at Hartford became bold, as we can recall, to leave their environs in the outskirts of that pioneer settlement and to search for better hunting grounds afar. How readily then might the whites also begin to look for new pastures beyond the Talcott Mountains.

Nobody knows just what progress in pasture-hunting the colonists actually made shortly after the Pequot Expedition; but they doubtless realized that villages of relatively friendly Algonkians dotted the country just beyond Hartford's western skyline and that fierce Mohawks ranged over a vast upland region further on. Also it is understandable that some Algonkians, in self-protection, even might offer to share the trans-skyline belt with some whites. Moreover, every newcomer to the river settlements tended to increase competition for desirable lands. Thus it might come about that some parties, perhaps only casual game-hunters, eventually yielded to curiosity and climbed to some one or another of the summits of the Talcott range, for a view of what—Who knew?—might prove to be good land, or even Eldorado, a gold field. In the words of Noah Porter, Jr., one such party did;[2]

> "—explore beyond the hills and descry a green valley at their feet, an open country through which the Tunxis River led its silvery stream and from the borders of which ascended the smokes of Indian settlements."

What the explorers saw lay perhaps 400 feet below them and only a mile or so away. To their left, the silvery current was receiving a

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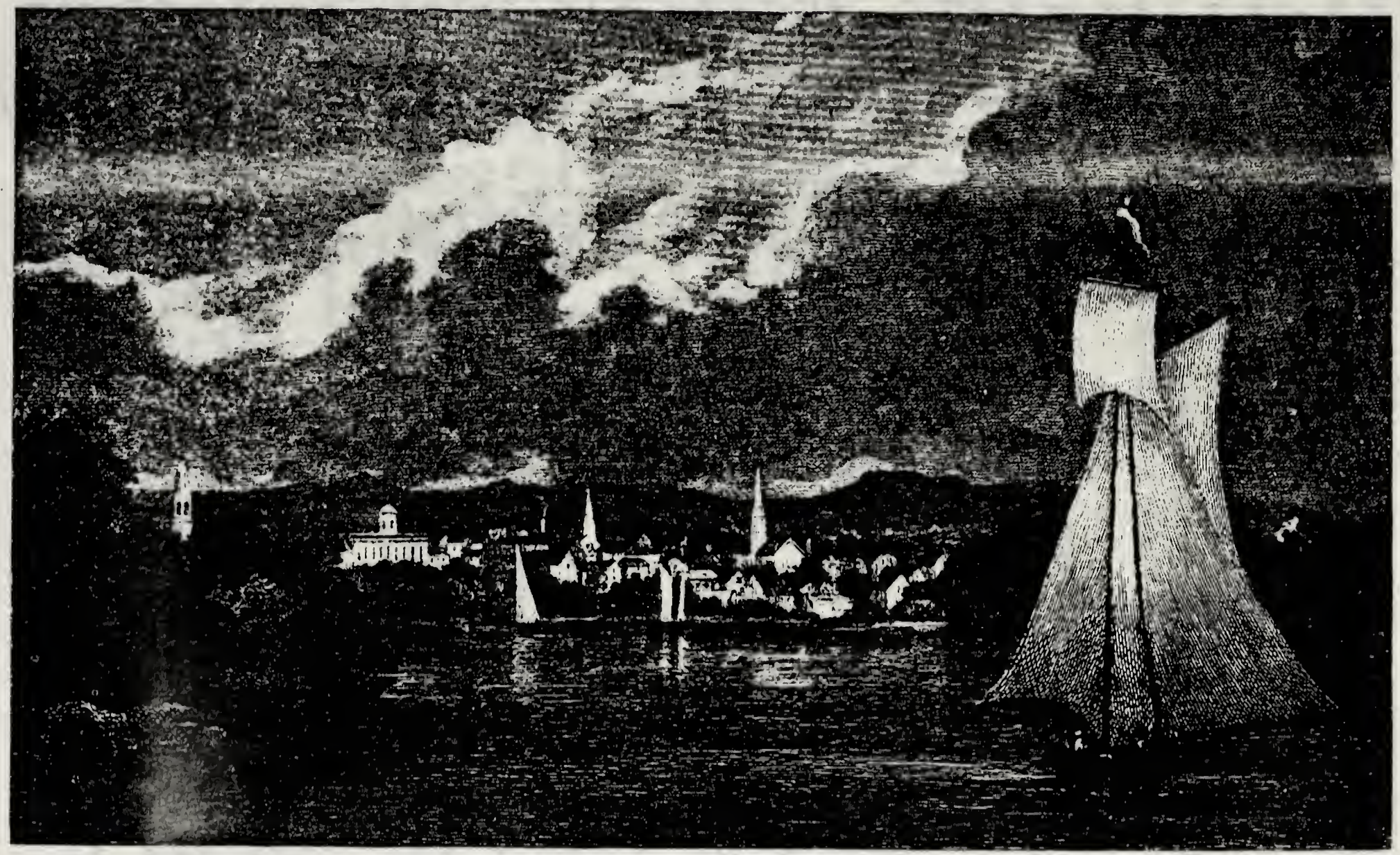
[1] U. S. Geological Survey: Topographic Map of Farmington Quadrangle. The crests of the ridge break out, in numerous places, as trap-rock, basaltic rugged exposure many of which rise from 300 to 500 feet above the water-level at Hartford. Two miles southerly from Farmington, the altitude becomes 750 ft. above sea-level, at Rattlesnake Mountain; a mile west of the Mountain it is about 150 feet, at the Pequabuck River.

[2] Bi-Centennial Address at Farmington, 1840; p. 91. Pres. Porter's Father was long the minister at Farmington. Their pioneer forefather was one of the earliest settlers at Farmington. The speaker was to become President of Yale University.



HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, 1830

Courtesy of L. M. Hubbard

48a

branch, the Pequabuck River,[1] the main stream having come down southeast, through a four-mile course, from its gateway out of the vaguely enormous Western Highlands,[2] as though going out of its way in order to take on this southern affluent. The merged streams then turn abruptly north, on a 14-mile course, to a point where they escape through an opening in the Talcott Hills and lose themselves, eight or ten miles further on, in the mighty Connecticut River at Windsor.

President Porter's narrative continues:

"—In eager excitement the observers returned to tell of their newly discovered meadow—Something which was a richest prize for those cattle-raising colonists."[3]

Therefore the winter of 1630-40 was due to see, in addition to the revolutionary political and economic adjustments already noted, the formation of a new population-center, out nine miles or so west from Hartford. As of January 16, 1639,[4] the General Court:[5]

"—Ordered, both for the satisfaction of those of Hartford & Windsore (who formerly mooved the Court for some inlargement of accomodacon) and also for or neighbors of Wethersfield who desire a plantacon there, that Mr. Phelps Mr. Hill Thomas Scott Wm. Gibons Robert Rose and James Bousy shall, as soone as with any conveniency may be, view those parts of Vnxos Sepos[6] wch may be suitable for those purposes, and make report of their doings to the Court, wch is adjourned for that end to the 20th of Febr att ten of the clock in the morning."[7]

However, the 20th of February resulted only in adding two mem-

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[1] Accent the second syllable. Tunxis is said to be the Indian name for the Farmington River. That stream rises in Western Massachusetts, coming down about 40 miles to take on the Pequabuck. At Farmington the main stream is about 40 feet wide.

[2] The Western Highlands spread over all of Western Connecticut and on into what was then the Dutch Province of New Netherland.

[3] Presumably other exploring parties, as from Windsor and Wethersfield, had caught glimpses too, of the Tunxis Valley, for it parallels the Connecticut River Valley for 25 miles or more. But Hartford, being larger, would have more land-hungry men and speculators and so presumably saw the new valley first.

[4] Doubtless Old Style Calendar (O.S.) and therefore 1640 (New Style).

[5] Colon. Rec.: I: 42.

[6] Dr. Trumbull interprets Tunxis as being Indian for Little River. Nevertheless, Sepos suggests derivation from Anglo-Saxon Sype, meaning sipe and its variant seep, old words for a soaking through, and also a gentle stream.

[7] Town Clerk Mrs. Hurlburt writes: "The procedure of Farmington's first settlers has long interested me. I have read everything that I could on the subject. Not all is complimentary. In fact, many critics take the pioneers severely to task. But it is notable that such critics do not explain precisely what they would have done themselves, in the light of that day, or any day. To me it seems that the first settlers did what they thought right according to the standards then prevailing, or what would be fair to themselves, the Indians and their King, under the circumstances in which they found themselves.

bers to the committee, namely Captain Mason and George Hubbard. It was June 11th, 1640, before:

"—The prticuler Courte is to conclude the conditions for the planting of Tunxis."[1]

Then for a span of five years the Hartford records are silent respecting Tunxis. This does not need to mean that foot-free young men were losing time during that period; on the contrary, we may well imagine that some, of their own initiative, quickly struck bargains with the Indians for land near the mouth of the Pequabuck, whereon they might speedily "squat."[2] And older, well-fixed Hartford men of foresight—perhaps even some of the Magistrates, unofficially, by inciting and abetting the squatters, all with good intentions—would be promoting the common welfare, helping the pioneers and tending to enhance such speculative values as the abetters might acquire in any holdings of their own out there. To none of the interested parties would it even occur that any taint of social injustice inhered in their conduct. They were simply being smart.[3]

It happens that Thomas Barnes held one of the largest and best homesites in infant Tunxis, as we shall presently see. On this fact we can rely for belief that he went there about 1640, agreed with the Indians for lands, and started to make a clearing for a home and fields, put up his house and settle down for keeps, all on a tacit understanding with the powers in Hartford that, in good time, his and others' rights to their chosen grounds should be confirmed by the Court. Nevertheless, the Hartford records do not verify this[4] directly, nor those at Farmington.[5] As for his Hartford properties, Thomas presumably passed title to them orally and about when he went to Tunxis. Certainly he did not claim them when he made his will in 1688.

Similarly the earliest Farmington records, of 1646, do not show when Thomas obtained his first tracts there.[6] But that the settlement did

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[1] Colon. Rec.: 1: 52. The General Court gradually took on the duties primarily of a legislative body; and the Particular Court attended to trials of civil and criminal actions, or to details relevant to the laws.

[2] A squatter settles on land to which he has no legal title—almost always unoccupied, virgin soil. His occupancy and work in subduing the ground to crops give him a prima facie case of intent to live there permanently. If meanwhile the government cannot as yet grant title to him, he still has an inchoate right to receive title whenever the government can grant it under the laws.

[3] The term "unearned increment" wasn't as yet in the language.

[4] Examiner of Public Records: State Library, Hartford.

[5] Town Clerk, Farmington.

[6] Town Clerk, Farmington.

begin in 1640 is suggested in Noah Porter's anniversary address in 1840, in the following:[1]

"—I have in my possession an extract from an agreement,—as renewed by the Indians in 1670,—wherein are the words: "Whereas, about the time of the planting of Farmington, in the year One Thousand Six Hundred and *Forty*—"

A claim to Thomas' very early settlement is further substantiated by comparing a town-plat of earliest Farmington[2] with a Connecticut Soil map.[3] These indicate that he owned not only a relatively large village acreage, but also that it was some of the most fertile land in the locality.

Obviously, the first settlers would locate in Tunxis long before it was organized into a separate township. The inhabitants would therefore be legally under control from Hartford. There Thomas would have to pay his taxes; and there, too, he must attend Church regularly. This latter duty was in itself no small matter, for it probably meant horseback rides, nine miles or so there and back. And the little cluster of homes in the country would expand slowly, for it always has been slow work to subdue forest land to farming. So for several years the neighborhood within a radius of ¼-mile or so from Thomas Barnes' cabin included few homes, perhaps only those of John and Richard Bronson, Thomas Demon, Thomas Porter, John Cole and William Hitchcock.[4] Then, as events proved that the Wethersfield massacre would not be repeated at Tunxis, new claimants gradually occupied the fairly level land west of the Talcott hills and down to the rivers. Of this settled area, about half lay south from Thomas' premises, its southerly end being between Rattlesnake Mountain and the Pequabuck River, in plots of 10 to 15 acres each. The other half covered ground northeasterly from his home lot. It was made up for the most part of smaller lots, of five acres and less. As thus laid out, the entire village covered a belt about two miles long by a half-mile wide. The settlers included, besides the heads of families just named, William Goodwin,

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[1] Porter; p. 58.

[2] Dr. M. F. Morgan, of Conn. Agric. Exper. Station: The Soils of Connecticut (1930) and The Soil Types of Conn. (1939), plus U. S. Bureau of Soils (1913) 5th Report of Field Operations.

[3] Prepared before 1840 by Rev. W. S. Porter. See text p. 54, where the Porter map is adapted to an amplified portion of U. S. Geological Survey Map of the Farmington Quadrangle, in harmony with statements of Farmington Town Clerk, Mrs. Mabel S. Hurlburt.

[4] Porter: 58-59.

Stephen Hart, Deacon Thomas Judd, William Lewis, John Loomis, Deacon Thomas Moore, Roger Newton the minister, George Orvis, John Steele, Senior, Thomas Upson.[1] Deacon Andrew Warner and Matthew Webster, 20 original settlers in all.

It is easy to believe that elderly men helped the pioneers, perhaps setting up their sons or making easy loans to men like Thomas, who had led the way. Then newcomers cast in their lots at Tunxis. Some of the community must have felt the bite of poverty, for when George Wyllys of Hartford made his will in 1645, he bequeathed:[2]

"forty shillings of the pore at Tunxis Cepus."

This bequest was equal to that for the poor of Windsor, suggesting that the two areas were then about equal in population. As supporting this view, we read that, as of December 1st, 1645, the "prticular Courte" ordered:[3]

"—that the Plantation calued Tunxis shalbe cauled Farmingtown, and that the bownds thereof shalbe as followeth:

"The Esterne bownds shall meet wth the westerne of these Plantations, wch are fiue myles on this side of the great Riuer[4]; and the Northern bownds shalbe fiue myles from the hill[5] in the great meadow towards Masseco; and the Southerne bownds fro the said hill shalbe fiue myles; and they shall haue liberty to improue ten myles further then the said fiue and to hinder other fro the like, vntill the Court see fitt otherwise to dispose of yt.

"And the said Plants are to attend to generall Orders formerly made by this Court, settled by the Comittee to who the same was referred and other occations, as the rest of the Plantations vpon the Riuer doe.

"They also are to haue the like libertyes as the other Townes vppon the Riuer for making Orders among themselues, pruided they alter not any fundamentall aggreements settled by the said Committee hitherto attended."

A reader may be inclined to think at this point that we have become more intent upon watching the landscape than in getting over the road, or in other words, that we are not sticking close enough to the facts

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[1] He had held the lot in Hartford which abutted Thomas Barnes' on the north.

[2] C. W. Manwaring: Early Conn. Probate Records: I: 42. But Mr. Wyllys left money for the following poor also: Of Hartford, 20 nobles; of Wethersfield, 5 marks; of Windsor 40 shillings. This was roughly equivalent to $33.33 for Hartford, $16.67 for Wethersfield and $10.00 each for Windsor and Tunxis (Farmington). Of course the buying power of money was much greater then than 300 years later.

[3] Colon. Rec.: I, 133-134.

[4] Connecticut River.

[5] Round Hill, a sand dune conspicuous in the Farmington River flats. It rises a mile north of Thomas Barnes' homelot and half a mile from the junction of the Pequabuck and Farmington. The original town—so says Farmington Town Clerk—donated its sand to the neighbors as long as it should last. After 300 years, about half of the hill had disappeared.

[6] Doubtless Simsbury, ten miles north of Farmington. See Colon. Rec.: II, 97 and 127.

relative to Thomas Barnes and his inheritable tendencies. To such readers a reminder is that similar scientific studies, as in geology and anthropology, require a broad knowledge of the surroundings of a new specimen. In fact much often depends upon these collateral findings. Readers who feel that we are losing all sight of Thomas Barnes because of thoughts about his surroundings may well consider that, Lo and Behold! he is dimly to be seen in the very multitude of things which were happening in his time, and in which he to some measure had a hand. We need to be content as we realize that our direct data about him are few and that we have a right to take into consideration some facts which may not at present seem relevant but from which we may later be able to form reasonable ideas.

If one sees a baseline from the ends of which two converging straight lines arise but ont visibly meet, reason tells him that he sees only the lower part of some figure of which the hidden upper part covers a further convergence of lines, which lines will meet to form a complete triangle. He is justified in believing this, rather than that a hat or other fantastic shape crowns the figure. If he sees two lines in parallel, but with one of them covered further along, he reasonably considers that the concealed part will appear in parallel if the cover is removed. So we take stock of what occurred when and where Thomas Barnes lived, feeling justified, at least at this stage in our inquiry, in believing that the as yet hidden parts of his activities were, in a general way, in parallel with what we find as the behavior of his friends and neighbors.

We proceed then to note that, about 1840, Rev. W. S. Porter deduced from public records that Tunxis had, besides its 20 original settlers, 17 owners who did not settle there, or 37 original owners. Some of these died or removed. By 1665, 46 inhabitants were subject to taxation. Therefore probably some number between 20 and 46 were the inhabitants who in 1645 took over the local government of a newly formed township, named Farmington. This body, sometimes called the daughter of Hartford, was to govern itself over a circle ten miles in diameter centering in the village.

And if it should prove, as in fact it did do, that the daughter were to exercise her option, under the Court's creative act which we have just been reading, and assert local jurisdiction in an area of unoccupied land roughly circumscribed by a circle having a radius of 15 miles from Thomas Barnes' place, Farmington's territory would actually become three times as large—it so happens—as for instance that part of truncated Hartford which lay west of the Connecticut River. Thus

the homemakers of Farmington were coming into control of substantially the latter towns of Avon, Berlin, Bristol, Burlington, Harwinton, New Britain, Plainville, Plymouth, Southington, Watertown and Wolcott.

It would be strange, indeed, if Thomas Barnes and his Scripture-saturated friends were not at times piously to glorify God for his Providence which was making it possible for them to have green pastures beside the still waters of Farmington. Here within their grasp was opportunity such as only first settlers in a New World could know. As compared with his pent-up conditions in the old country, Thomas now had his chance to work, gladly and to the limit, in creating a family estate where there was an abundance of good soil and fuel and good water. And he could easily give rein to his fond hopes that, by his kindly aid in turn some day, his own children would be setting up homes of their own and in turn be seeing new townships organized out of original Farmington.

Of the village center, Noah Porter notes:[1]

"—From the (west end of a) pass in the mountain, through which ran the road to Hartford, five-acre lots were laid out for dwellings, and for the original meeting-house. Many of these lots were bisected by the main street, the houses first located being on the (smaller section or the) eastern side of the street."

Similarly Thomas might, and did,[2] use the small easterly segment of his homelot for his house and yards, and the larger one for his cow-pasture and cropland.

As thus extended, the Town's main highway led from the mountain west for a half mile or so, then southwest for about a mile on a line roughly parallel to the river and a quarter of a mile or more easterly from it; finally it went south by west for another mile, skirting Rattlesnake Mountain. Thomas' place was about midway along this road.

The Farmington Land Registration of 1650 describes this homesite and two other plots which Thomas then owned. The registration is similar in form to that of 1639 in Hartford, in that it does not copy conveyances word for word but notes instead individual tracts by

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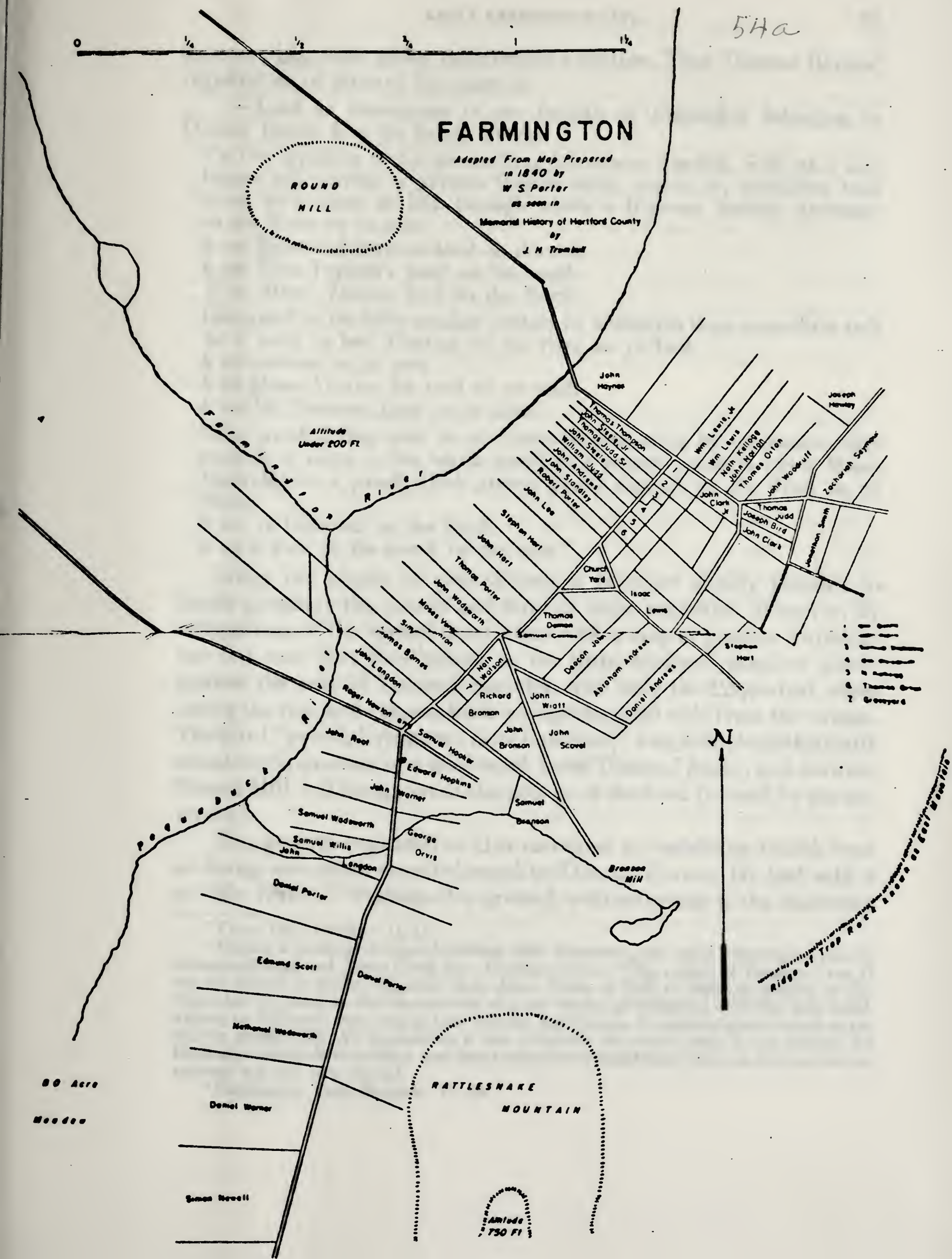
[1] Porter: 27.

[2] Town Clerk Mrs. Hurlburt, Farmington, letter: In 1710 Thomas' son Joseph sold the homestead, describing the land as being bounded on the north by the burying-ground. The burying-ground, to this day, is on the easterly side of the street; so Thomas' house and yards were too.

54a



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1
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FARMINGTON
Adapted From Map Prepared in 1840 by W S Porter as seen in Memorial History of Hartford County by J H Trumbull
ROUND HILL
Altitude Under 200 Ft.
Farmington River
Pequabuck River
John Haynes
Thomas Thompson
John Steele, Jr
Thomas Judd, Sr
John Steele
William Judd
John Andrews
John Standley
Robert Porter
John Lee
Stephen Hart
John Hart
Thomas Porter
John Wadsworth
Moses Venn
Thomas Barnes
John Langdon
Roger Newton and Samuel Hooker
John Root
Edward Hopkins
John Warner
Samuel Wadsworth
Samuel Willis
John Langdon
George Orvis
Daniel Porter
Edmund Scott
Daniel Porter
Nathaniel Wadsworth
Daniel Warner
Simon Newell
Wm Lewis, Jr
Wm Lewis
Nath Kellogg
John Norton
Thomas Orton
John Woodruff
Joseph Hawley
Zachariah Seymour
John Clark Jr
Thomas Judd
Joseph Bird
John Clark
Jonathan Smith
Church Yard
Isaac Lewis
Thomas Demon
Samuel Cowles
Deacon John
Abraham Andrews
Daniel Andrews
Stephen Hart
Nath Watson
Richard Bronson
John Wiatt
John Bronson
John Scovel
Samuel Bronson
Bronson Mill
N
Ridge of Trap Rock known as East Mountain
RATTLESNAKE MOUNTAIN
Altitude 750 Ft
80 Acre Meadow

metes and bounds, under each owner's caption. Thus Thomas Barnes' registration of three of his tracts is:[1]

"—Land in farmington in the Jurisdic of Conectikut belonging to Thomas Barnes & to his heires forever

Viz One pysell in which his dwelling house now standeth, with other outt houses and yeardes or gardens therein being, contain by estimation tenn acres, be it more or less, through which a Highway leadeth, abuttinge on the River on ye west
& on Richard Brownson land on the east
& on John Taylcott's land on the south
& on Moses Ventrus land on the North

One pysell in the little meadow contain by estimation three acres three rods be it more or less Abutting on the river on ye East
& ye common on ye west
& on Moses Ventrus his land on ye north
& on Mr. Newtons land on ye south

"One pysell Lying over in ye Common containing by estimation forty acres be it more or less which pysell in a greater pysell in which Moses Ventrus hath a pysell which greater pysell abutteth on the River on ye North
& on ye Common on the South
& on a fork on the east & on the west."

After the elapse of generations, it becomes hardly feasible to locate precisely the second and third of these registries. However, by comparison of the second description with a map of pioneer Farmington one sees that the "pysell in the little Medow" matches nicely against the rear of Thomas' homelot, with only the Pequaduck separating the two, and extends back west perhaps 20 rods from the stream. The third "pysell, Lying over in ye Common," was, then, hypothetically about three-quarters of a mile north from Thomas' house, and between Round Hill and the union of the prongs of the fork formed by the two rivers.[2]

The general registration also mentions an indefinite fourth tract as being one which once belonged to Thomas Barnes. He had sold it to "Mr. Nuton."[3] Perhaps this ground, with reference to the minister's

[1] Farm. Land Records: II, 51.

[2] During a century or more following their formation, the early Farmington records undoubtedly suffered. Town Clerk Mrs. Hurlburt writes: "The entries of Volumes I and II are not always in proper sequence as to dates. Those of 1645 to 1665 can readily be distinguished as being in the handwriting of John Steele, as compared with the finer handwriting of William Lewis used in later entries; but Volume II contains some records in the heavier penmanship. An explanation is that originally all records were in one volume, the binding of which disintegrated, and that a subsequent bookbinder who put them up in two volumes was not very careful.

[3] Farmington Town Records: II: 54.

homelot, was placed similarly to Thomas' second parcel already described but lying just back of Mr. Newton's homelot and across the Pequabuck. If so, an easy inference is that in 1640 or so Thomas had paid something to the Indians for a block of 100 acres or more, located partly on the future village site and partly in the river bottoms. So much land he would not need personally. In buying, he would be acting both for himself and also as agent for some prospective neighbors, to whom he would later deal out suitably sized lots. The entire tract would lie just north of an aboriginal trail,[1] which latter, from time immemorial, had led to a ford across the Pequabuck. The tenure of Mr. Newton the minister would thus lie along the north side of this trail and on both sides of the river, beside a path which soon became a thoroughfare.

This suggests that originally it was intended that the intersection of this trail and the settlement's main street, right at the corner of the minister's yard, would be at the center of the village but that if, also, settlers who lived on smaller lots further north should eventually outvote the earliest settlers, they could have the church located near the later center of population. Much of this conjecture is of course purely speculative but it does harmonize with an idea that Thomas would choose for himself a homesite as decently close as possible to the minister's home and the anticipated churchyard.

The worship of God in church meant so very much to pioneer Puritans that Thomas and his friends doubtless arranged with Hartford for meetings to be held, during bad weather, at one or another of the convenient Tunxis homes. A deacon might lead or a minister come out from Hartford to conduct them. But perhaps equally important to them were church ceremonials, baptism, acceptance into Church membership, marriage and funeral observances, each being relevant to their hopes of Heaven. That Thomas shared whole-heartedly in these convictions is inferrible from a flyleaf or marginal reference in the very early town records; it reads that he had donated a plot in the rear of his home grounds—just when is not shown—in the part which lay easterly from the main street, to become a graveyard.[1]

In summary we now prudently remind ourselves that much of the conception which we have built up regarding Thomas Barnes' removal from Hartford and location in Farmington consists of inferences. These are based on only a very few known facts concerning himself,

[1] Farmington Town Clerk.

and considerably upon what is learned in respect to his community. We know for instance that arrangements for settling Tunxis were made officially in 1640, that the population had increased so much by 1645 that the settlers were formed into a separate township of equal standing with Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield and that before long Thomas possessed three tracts of land in or near the new village, totaling 53 to 54 acres. These made for him a spacious area of the best soil, very centrally located. Manifestly his property was in much better condition than it had been in Hartford, both in quality and in quantity. For all that we know to the contrary, he had by 1645 become a leading citizen of the new town.

FROM 1645 TO 1663

Farmington's frontier homes were farm factories in a far greater sense than would be the case much later on. Hence any home-owner's success in life was more largely dependent upon the efficiency of his helpmate. And since by 1650 Thomas Barnes had a large farm, desirably located and well improved, it is likely that he already had a wife, or soon would be marrying.

But of the wife we have almost no positive facts other than some concerning her last days, in 1662-63. Her given name was Mary.[1] Of her parentage, birthplace and childhood home we know nothing. If she ever joined the church under her maiden name or as the wife of a prior marriage, any clue to this is missing. No Mary Barnes is mentioned in the church records of either Hartford or Farmington. We do find, however, that there were three children, Sarah, Benjamin and Joseph. Sarah was married on March 26th, 1666;[2] hence she probably was the first child, born about 1650. Of the two sons we read:[3]

"—About July 26, 1653, Benjamin Barnes, son of Thomas Barnes, was baptized";

and

"—Joseph Barnes, son of Thomas Barnes, was presented and baptized—1655."

Note that the dating of the two baptisms is somewhat vague. Assumably this is because extant records are replacements from memory of original lost ones. It is thought that the first ones were destroyed in 1657 when the house of the Clerk of the Farmington Church, John

[1] Coll. Ct. Histl. Soc. (Record of Particular Court) 22: 259.
[2] T. C. Barnes: I, 9.
[3] Register: 11-324.

Hart, was burned down, with all in it.[1] We recall, too, that the children's ages were not far apart. We wonder why only three children were named when families of that time usually were much larger. Perhaps there were other children, born after 1655 and even before 1650, who died very young. The location of the old Farmington cemetery bears out such a suggestion. Instead of being in the churchyard, it was laid out in Thomas' premises.[2] Such a choice could readily be made if need for a burying-ground arose before the church was put up, and if an epidemic, like typhoid fever, diphtheria or scarlet fever, were to strike into Thomas' and Mary's family. It might oblige them to consecrate a part of his yard as a burial spot for one or more of their littlest children, whose names are no longer known. Then, as other people should die, perhaps landless and unmarried, Thomas would let more burials be made in his sacred ground, until eventually he would set aside an acre or two for use as the community graveyard.

Such a rapidly recurring series of deaths could cause an emotional upset in a mother who was hysterically inclined, or had become weak from disease or overwork. She would then be likely to do things which to captious neighbors would seem queer. If also, in times past, Mary had, innocently enough, offended people, her hallucinations would draw fire of criticism upon herself. Gossips might even spread the word that she must have made 'way with her own children. If news of anything like that were to reach Mary's ears, how bitter would be her hatred toward her sharp-tongued neighbors. And if the defamers were members of the church, how easily Mary would ascribe an ungenerous spirit to all the membership. So she would take to shutting herself up within herself, more and more, as she brooded over the wrongs done to her, done both by Jehovah in taking her children from her and by His people through unfair misconstructions of her conduct. In indignant tirades she might even upbraid them, thus opening a door for busy-bodies to go about with rumors that the devil himself must be in Mary Barnes. Was she sent with Satan's help, intent upon doing harm to them all?

Meanwhile, misunderstanding Thomas could find comfort, in his bereavement through loss of their little children, by contacts with his friends and in his outside work. If he austerely failed to sympathize

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[1] Porter: p. 31.

[2] Farmington Town Clerk Mrs. Mabel S. Hurlburt: "In the record of town meetings, I have seen a notation that Thomas Barnes donated a plot at the easterly end of his homelot, for a burying-ground. This was before 1665. In 1687 he gave a piece of land next to it, lying in front of the first one and next to the street."

with his wife's morbid feelings, who knows but that she took to casting roving glances at other men? From that, how easily prudes might scatter scandal!

At any rate, Mary does not seem to have neighbored with the church-going crowd. Soon difficulties were pending, as we shall see.

We shall do well to recall now that, in every century, great thought-movements have influenced men. Such widespread notions either persist or gradually disappear with increasing knowledge. For such delusions, for example dueling, as have disappeared in our century, we find it hard to understand their oldtime force. In the 1600's, democratic advancement was a thought-movement, fast making headway, especially in Connecticut; but the idea of evolution had not taken hold and scientific procedure was little valued. A replacing thought-movement of Thomas' time lay in the value generally being granted to education; and it is doubtless fair to consider that this was fully as advanced in Connecticut as in most regions of Europe at that time. Nevertheless, New England schools were very lightly attended and were held for only short terms. Their main purpose was to teach writing, ciphering and enough reading so that the scholar could read the Bible.[1] So the percentage of illiteracy in Farmington must have been very high.

As for the Bible, it was taken literally, word for word and from cover to cover, as though it had been supernaturally and mechanically inspired. For anyone to doubt its dicta was heresay, for which people in Europe were burned at the stake. For one to interpret the verses of God's holy word as being an embodiment of religious ideals born out of moral crises, such as had arisen, in one or another of the 15 centuries of Pre-Hebrew, Hebrew and Jewish history up to 100 A. D.,[2] in the lives of various leaders of Abraham's people—All that was repugnant to smug, puritanical adherence to the Church dogmas of 1600. For instance, a New Englander must agree, if he would escape censure or worse, that:[3]

> "—the wind bloweth where it listeth, but though ye hear the sound thereof, ye cannot tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth."

Holy Writ having said this, the wind must therefore have its origin in "the secret place of the Most High."[3] To doubt it would be inviting suspicion that you were on familiar terms with that old deluder, Satan.[4]

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[1] Howard Bradstreet 1933): Early Hartford
[2] John, 3:8. [3] Psalms, 91:1.
[4] And. D. White: Hist. of Warfare between Sci. and Theol. (1913): 2.

As of December 1st, 1642, then, the General Court,[1] basing its acts almost entirely upon Scripture, promulgated a list of ten capital crimes, namely:

"—Idolatry, witchcraft,[2] blasphemy, murder, sodomy, adultery, rape, kidnaping, false witness and treason."

By 1640, the delusion of witchcraft had grown through the centuries into a great thought-movement in its full harvest of deaths by execution. This death penalty had received its legal sanction from a papal bull of Innocent VIII 1484[3] and was during three centuries to garner in an estimated total of 100,000 lives. But by no means all of the extirpated witches were done to death by Catholic agencies; for the 1640-1650 decennial such penalties were placed at 3,000 in Protestant England and 4,000 in Scotland.[4] When then we consider a Connecticut pogrom during the span from 1647 to 1663, we must in fairness form our opinions of Thomas Barnes and his fellows as measured by the standards of his own time. As late as 1768, John Wesley would be holding that disbelief in witchcraft was equivalent to atheism.[5]

In order to measure such fairness to the people of Hartford and Farmington in 1650, we should try to imagine what the Christendom of 2250 will think of the panicky, frenzied world which, in one generation between 1910 and 1950, offered up holocausts of its sons, literally by the millions, in shambles scattered all over the earth, and in slaughter-pens many of which operated simultaneously. If that generation, of 1900 and on, could not see how to avert the first two World Wars, can it well condemn Thomas Barnes and men of his time for not understanding how to deal with witchcraft? Are not the causes of war in men's minds, diseased or otherwise, in their greeds, vices and insanities? Why are men permitted to come into being with such weaknesses as these, or to develop them? To remove war, remove its causes. Induce self-control, develop higher degrees of intelligence, ennobling patriotism, uplifting morality, lofty integrity of character. Espouse generous ideals of conduct regardless of what other nations may do. Without springs of action such as these, any changes in forms of government will have little effect in preventing wars, for the seeds of war,

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[1] Trumbull: I, 282. [2] Ex. 22:18. Lev. 20:27. Deut. 18:10-11.
[3] White: II, 357.
[4] Trumbull: I, 227—Note taken from Pilgrim Republic (491-492).
[5] White: II, 363. Wesley, he says, declared firmly that to give up witchcraft was in effect to give up the Bible.

greed, vice, insanity, will continually be breeding more wars. Conversely, better forms of government will naturally follow in ratio with success in removing the causes of war.

If we think it unfair that people who are to live generations hence shall set up their criteria—as yet unformulated—against the Twentieth Century's progress in ending all wars, manifestly then the Twentieth Century should not impose its criteria upon proceedings in 14 cases of witchcraft which came up for trial in early Connecticut Colony. We should try to realize sympathetically why people then thought and did as they did in 1650, before we condemn them.

The first of these cases resulted in the hanging, in 1647, of Alse Young of Windsor.[1] Soon Mary Johnson of Weathersfield was convicted, chiefly upon her own confession, of having "familiarity with the Deuill."[2] Before her execution, she was kept in jail at Hartford for several months.[3] There the ministrations of Hartford's Rev. Samuel Stone led her to repent and to confess having practiced witchcraft.[4]

In such a state of the public mind, the following writ was issued by the Court at Hartford:[1]

"—Whereas it has now come to the certaine intelligence of this Courte that one Hallit, with on what was Mr. Phaex his wife, are now come into and liues in the Plantation of Pequet*, and (as is conceiued) hath committed in other places, and so liues at this present, in that fowle sin of adultery, wch is odious to God and man, and therefore this Courte cannot but take notice of it: It is therefore ordered that there bee a warrant directed to the Constable of the same towne, to aprhend the said partyes, and to bring them vpp to the next perticular Courte in Hartford, wch will bee vppon the

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[1] Conn. Mag.: V, 557-561. Also John Winthrop: Hist of N. Eng (1630-1649) : II, 307—Without inserting her name he writes: "One ——— was arraigned and executed at Hartford, for a witch." The Governor's record, in diary form, shows by its sequence that this occurred during the spring of 1647. Annie Eliot Trumbull has related this to an entry noted on the inside cover of the diary of Mathew Grant of Windsor, 'May 26, '47: Alse Young was hanged'." (See John M. Taylor: The Witchcraft Delusion in Early Conn. (1908) ; 145.)

Rev. Thomas Hooker's death came July 7, 1647. Perhaps he was too ill to bestir himself in Alse's behalf, that spring. Or was he?

[2] Cotton Mather: Magualia I, 206-207

[3] During this time she gave birth to a child, which doubtless delayed the time of her execution.

[4] Was she a mental defective? Had she been tortured until she would be glad to admit anything and everything if only she might thereby have a moment's relief from her bodily misery?

[5] Colon. Rec.: I, 186.

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first Thursday of the next month and the Governor is desired to write to Mr. Wenthrope* and acquaint him with it . . .

"As also a like warrant shal bee directed to the Constable there for the aprehending and bringing vpp to the next perticular Courte, Mary Barnes of theire towne."

These warrants were issued in 1649. The Jurisdiction of Connecticut then consisted of the three original towns, Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford, plus Farmington, Middletown, Saybrook and Pequot, later to be named New London. Their total population was so small that presumably the Mary Barnes above named was Mary of Farmington. However, of this we cannot be sure. No other Barnes families are now known of as then living in any of the seven towns of the Jurisdiction; but people of that name did then reside in Plymouth and Hingham, on Long Island and in New Haven, although no Mary among them is now known of who could possibly have been this Mary of Pequot.

But at any rate the court records at Hartford have nothing further to state concerning "one Hallit and on what was Mr. Phaex his wife," nor of "Mary Barnes of their Towne." Very possibly Mr. Winthrop of Pequot looked into matters and found that there was no ground for action. Nevertheless if the news got around that the Constable at Pequot had been looking for Mary Barnes of Farmington, life for Mary at Farmington would not be made any pleasanter.

Around Thomas' farm, from 1640 on, many barbarians were living close by, hundreds of them.[1] As their barbarian social standards differed radically from those of some pushing, overbearing whites, eventually some red men doubtless became revengeful and might well be feared. On October 6, 1651, the General Court announced that:[2]

"—William Leawis, Junior is confirmed as Leiftennant, to order the souldgers at Farmington, John Steele Junior Ensigne and Thomas Barnes Serieant."

The next year by October 12, 1653, the community considered itself strong enough to organize and maintain a church.[3] This was done

*"Mr. Wenthrope" was doubtless John, the son of Governor John of Massachusetts Bay Colony. The son had founded Saybrook in 1635 and later founded Pequot. His personality and abilities were such that he succeeded in moving the King to grant a charter uniting the Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. From 1657 to 1675 he was elected and re-elected Governor, almost without interruption. His scientific turn of mind led to his becoming one of the first members of The Royal Society, of London, an organization formed in 1660 for the advancement of science, especially the physical sciences.

[1] Trumbull: II, 168. [2] Colon Rec.: I, 227.

[3] Porter: 58-59. Also Savage: Genl. Dict. of First Settlers of N. Eng. IV, 227. Roger Newton married the eldest daughter of Rev. Thos. Hooker. He left Farmington in 1657, to serve near Boston and then in England.

by six of the townsmen* entering into a covenant as charter members, together with Rev. Roger Newton who was to become the minister. Soon John Lewis came in; then five wives of the members joined. On January 20, 1652/3, Thomas Barnes and five others were enrolled. Gradually the membership comprised the most influential people of the town. By 1662, 28 men had been taken into membership and about an equal number of women. Doubtless, in 1662, as went the mind of the minister and the deacons, so went the mind of the town.

The 1650's would be years when Thomas entered into the prime of his young manhood, the peak of his vigor, courage and business acumen. Perhaps this is why he dared to spread out financially rather thin. From the records we find that:[1]

"—Thomas Barnes Morgayed all his lands and houses in Farmington to Mr. Taylcott for payment of 25 pounds, as apeareth by a deed of morgaye bearing date March 25, 1653 (December 3, 1660.")[2]

It is considered that the purchasing power of 25 Pounds at that time equaled about 10 to 12 times as much as it would three centuries later;[3] therefore his debt was equivalent to, perhaps, $1,500 of later money. Now it is found that, as of 1655, 52 persons in Farmington were liable to taxation[4] on a total assessed valuation of 5910 Pounds, or commensurably over $300,000. This averages from $6,000 to $7,000 per taxable person per later values. As one of the first, best located and largest landowners, Thomas would probably be then worth appreciably more than $7,000 per later value of money. His property, assessed at 120 Pounds, was the sixteenth in size of assessment.

About when John Hart's house burned down, Rev. Roger Newton moved to other fields, leaving the Farmington Church without a minister.[5] This lasted until his brother-in-law, Rev. Samuel Hooker, was ordained in 1661 and "came into the Church" as the minister. He also succeeded to Mr. Newton's land, thus making himself just about next-door neighbor to Thomas Barnes. The young pastor was to serve in a hard field for spiritual labor, especially in those harsh times, of real dangers from the barbarians and intense fears of infernal mischief when so much reliance was placed upon the words of the minister.

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*Stephen Hart, Thomas Judd, John Bronson, John Cole, Thomas Thompson and Robert Porter. See Register: Vols. XI and XII: Early Church Records of Farmington.

[1] Farmington Land Records: II, 2.

[2] Farm. Town Clerk Mrs. Hurlburt: "During those first years, the original instrument was not copied in full into the record book, but only an epitome or abstract of it. This of course applies to the Barnes-Taylcott mortgage. Perhaps the closing date, December 3, 1660, refers to its release."

[3] Fredk. J. Haskins: Information Bureau, Washington, D. C.

[4] Porter: 27 and 63; also Col. Rec.: I, 279. [5] Savage: III, 227.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION AND MARY BARNES

During the years when Sergeant Thomas Barnes was serving in the Farmington Militia Company, taking his place as a member of the Church and making his financial structure larger, stronger and more stable, witchcraft once more came to the fore. This appears first in the convictions of John and Joan Carrington* of Wethersfield in 1651[1] and of Lydia Gilbert in 1654.[2] A resting-stage of eight years then followed, before the delusion should again raise its ugly head. This time it developed in Hartford, occasioned by misconduct in a group of eight whose reputations had been none too good.[3] One night some of them, out in the moonlight on ground where the State Capitol was sometime to be located, had a bottle of sack together and danced around a tree. This provoked great scandal. Soon a sick young daughter of John Kelley[4] of Hartford, in a delirium, charged that Elizabeth Ayers, a leader of the coterie, was given to afflicting her. The culprit was arrested for having control of powers derived from Satan. Friendly aid, however, made it possible for her and her husband to take French leave. Two others also fled the colony. A fifth was doubtless released, as Peter Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam, her husband's kinsman, interceded.[5]

But then Anne, a daughter of John Cole,[6] began to have ecstatic experiences. The Magistrates inquired; the ministers of Farmington and Hartford combined in an investigation.[7] Good and learned men, they still had no inkling of modern psychologic and psychopathic findings; so their opinions did nothing to allay a widespread fear which possessed their parishoners. On June 6th, 1662, Andrew Sanford was

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*Eug. L. Orvis (Orvis Fam. in Amer. (1922): His letter, 1938, shows that Deborah,[4] (Samuel,[3] Samuel,[2] George,[1]) Orvis—a first settler in Farmington—was the dau. of Rachel,[3] (———),[2] John[1] and Joan) Carrington. He also shows that this Deborah married in 1741 Jonathan[4] (Jacob,[3] Joseph,[2] Thomas[1]) Barnes.

[1] Particular Court Rec.: 22; 93. [2] Particular Court: 22; 131.

[3] Colon. Magazine (1899) Vol. 559, f. 11: A Case of Witchcraft in Hartford, by Dr. Chas. J. Hadley.

[4] Savage (III; 7) shows that John Kelley was a freeman of Conn. in 1658. Otherwise nothing is known of him.

[5] John M. Taylor (1908): The Witchcraft Delusion in Colon. Conn. (1647-1697). 151-152.

[6] Taylor: 96 has the Greensmiths "of Hartford" and the Coles as next door neighbors; but a John Cowles, perhaps a relative, lived in Farmington; he was one of the seven pillars of the church there.

[7] The narrative names Samuel Hooker first. Perhaps he began the Anne Cole investigations at Farmington, which led him to Hartford to his fellow Harvard graduates, Revs. Joseph Haynes and John Whiting and of course patriarch Samuel Stone. Thomas Hooker had died some months earlier.

indicted for witchcraft. The jury disagreed; but one week later his wife Mary was convicted. What became of her is not clear.[1]

Of the obsessed witness we read:[2]

"—Anne Cole, a person of serious piety, living in the house of her godly father, was taken with very strange fits, wherein her tongue was impelled by a demon to express things unknown to herself. The general purpose of the disclosure, which held sometimes for a considerable time, was that such-and-such persons, named in the discourse, were consvlting together how they might carry on mischievous designs against Ann and several others—upon which the general answer, heard among those invisible speakers, was, 'Ah; she runs to the rock'."

The account adds that the devil, thus speaking through the girl as a medium, mentioned people by name, among them being Rebecca Greensmith. The accused is said to have been next-door neighbor to the Coles. The accused was indicted October 15, 1662.[3] Confronted with this testimony of Anne, the prisoner Rebecca:

"—acknowledged the truth of the charges against her, upon which, with other concurrent evidences, the woman was executed—whereupon Anne Cole was happily delivered from the extraordinary troubles whereof she had been exercised."[4]

Rebecca's confession implicated others, including her husband Nathaniel. He was indicted on December 30th, 1662. Both of them were speedily convicted.[5]

Thus two more of the reveling coterie of eight were brought to "justice." So far the Connecticut Colony witchcraft delusion had visited itself upon victims who had not belonged to established and prominent families; but now it demanded a victim from one of the long established ones. Just a week after the Greensmiths were tried, or on January 6th, 1662-3, Mary Barnes was put to trial in the Particular Court, to defend her life against the charge of witchcraft.[6]

No bill of particulars appears in connection with the Mary Barnes case. Can it be that Anne Cole's kin in Farmington had been visited by the practiced Anne, who put on another of her acts and became pneum-

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[1] Partic. Crt. (2: 174-5): She may have been banished, allowed to escape, been lynched or legally hanged, or died from sickness or torture.

[3] Manwaring, I, 121-122, from Court Record, 182.

[2] Rev. Cotton Mather (1663-1728)—a D.D. and F.R.S.: "Magnalia, or Eccles. Hist. of Church at Boston, was president of Harvard in 1685-1701. He laid great store on Rebecca's confession as evidence of the existence of witchcraft.

[4] Author Cotton Mather's father, Rev. Increase Mather (1639-1723) of the North Church at Boston, was president of Harvard in 1685-1701. He laid great store on Rebecca's confession as evidence of the existence of witchcraft.

[5] Partic. Crt.: 22: 257-8. [6] Partic. Crt.: 22-259.

stoligically exercised sufficiently to name Mary Barnes as a witch? Something like that would give ground for the investigating Rev. Samuel Hooker to have the Constable arrest Mary on suspicion and get her off to Hartford.

The statute under which Mary was indicted reads:[1]

"Yf any man or woman be a witch (that is) hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit, that one shall be put to death."

A familiar spirit was a supernatural attendant who protected and prompted such individuals as were in league with Satan. The Mosaic law refers again and again to "familiar spirits." One accepting their aid was surely to be put to death.[2] To consult them meant that Jehovah would drive any disloyal one from before His people.[3] King Saul therefore "put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land."[4] But later, when Jehovah had withdrawn himself, Saul had the witch of Endor "divine unto him the familiar spirit" whereby the ghost of Samuel arose from the grave.[5] Etc. And the New Testament relates how Paul commanded a "spirit of divination," "in the name of Jesus Christ" to come out of a damsel whom it was possessing; "and it came out of her the same hour."[6]

It is hard for minds saturated with Twentieth Century conceptions of science and philosophy to avoid prejudice against the conduct of people living within the narrow limits of knowledge revealed by the statute and the Scriptures above quoted, but we can at least try to appreciate the viewpoints of Mary's accusers and friends. If she had hallucinations, such that others took her to be a witch until even her unschooled husband feared that she were indeed one, what would they think and do? For comparison and to suppose a case, what ought they, or we in their stead, to do if it came out that one of their number had connived with the Indians to destroy Farmington? The penalty for traitors was death. But to become a witch was worse, for a witch had opened up her mind and heart not to barbarians, but to Satan himself, while he in turn had gladly shared his plans with the witch, to the end that they should find delight in harming God's people.[7] According to the thought-movement of those days, were not Mary's nervous spells,

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[1] Colon. Rec.: I, 77.

[2] Lev. 20:27. [3] Deut. 18; 11-12. [4] I Sam.: 28; 3. [5] I Sam.: 28; 9, f. 11.

[6] Acts 16; 16-18.

[7] Charles Machay: Extraordinary Popular Delusions (1852) II, 117 Works of witches were, he shows, specified in the celebrated papal Bull of Pope Innocent VIII, in 1488, as blasting of the corn, the grapes of the vineyard, the fruits of the trees, and the herbs of the fields.

her frustrations, exaggerated ego, hysteria, or whatever it was that ailed her, prima facie proof that she had sold herself to the devil, to be his plaything? What else could they do but detest and loath her?

Note, too, that it was the Magistrates, the men of the Worthies, officers selected as especially fit, the Masters and scholars, the eminent and distinguished in public affairs of that day, who were ordering Mary Barnes' arrest and conducting her trial. What reasons could Thomas, an illiterate Goodman,* advance successfully against their judgment? Had he been the wisest and boldest and best of Farmington's freemen, he might have scoffed successfully at the Constable's warrant for Mary's arrest and, as man meets man, have withstood that officer at the Goodman's doorway, declaring that no witchcraft warrant was valid under the Rule of Reason, a law which transcended all man-made laws, everywhere, including the premises of Thomas Barnes. Thus he might have rallied the neighbors to sustain him in resisting Mary's arrest. But we have no reason to believe that Thomas' mind so grasped the laws of Nature and logic as to see things clearly in any such way. Rather he would feel obliged to think of Mary as his friends did, and be forced by the narrowness of their understandings to believe that the mind-sick paroxysms of his poor wife arose from her fascination toward the Devil and that her very conduct was an unanswerable proof of her guilt—just as the ministers most probably considered it to be.

So we can imagine that, when the Constable, that embodiment of the power of outraged law, came, the frightened neighbors, in their benighted world, had no word to say by way of comfort and encouragement to Mary. Rather, we may suppose, they shrank from her, some of them even being ready to see her lynched—for might she not at any time bring the powers of hell upon one or more of their loved ones?

As for Thomas in this critical scene, perhaps the most charitable thing that we can think of in reference to his part in the tragedy, in the face of things beyond his understanding, is that he would bow his head in submission to God's will, as he saw it, and would with aching heart say, "The Lord gave and the Lord taketh away," though why

*Originally a Master was in social rank between a nobleman and a yeoman; for instance, he might be a descendent of a younger son of a baron. As such, and as a Gentleman, he would have a right, for example, to bear a coat of arms. A Yeoman was of the first and most respectable class of the Commonalty. A Goodman was a householder under the rank of Gentleman. But in New England these distinctions relaxed, so that the gentry, the college graduates—and always the ministers—were addressed as Master—later to become Mister. The Master's lady was Mistress. The Goodman's was Goodwife, or Goody. All servants were called by name only.

it must be so is past my finding out.[1] We may even imagine that, in this crisis of his life, he even had, as some others were vaguely feeling, a fringe of an idea expressed in Longfellow's The Golden Legend, "It is Lucifer, the son of mystery; and since God suffers him to be, he too is God's minister, who labors for some good by us not understood."

As for Mary, knowing that she was held in horror by those nearest and dearest to her, would she not be so terrified by the angry, unreasoning crowd that she, too, might at the moment even admit that the charges against her were true, if only her persecutors would stop awhile?

So in midwinter Mary Barnes was taken to the court-room. The sequence of entries in its record of proceedings suggests that no time was lost between apprehending, indicting and bringing her to trial. In utmost brevity it recites:[2]

"—At a Perticuler Court held Janry 6: 1662:[3]

Megestrates Mr Allyn Mr Willys Mr Treat Mr Woolcot Mr Clark Secy Mr Jo: Allyn

Juy Willm Wadsworth Lt Files Edw: Griswold Ens: Olmsted Samll Boreman Gregory Wilterton John Cowles Samll Marshall Samll Hale Robert Webster Natha Willet John Gilbert

The Inditement of Mary Barnes of Farmington.[3]

Mary Barnes thou art here Indited by ye name of Mary Barnes for not hauinge the fear of God before thyne eyes Thou hast enterteined familiarity with Satan the great Enemy of God and man and by his help hast acted things in a preter natural way beyond the course of Nature.
for which according to ye laws of God and of ye established lawes of this colony thou deseruest to die.[6]

The Prisonr pleaded not Guilty and referd her self to trial by ye Jury.

The Jury returne that they find ye Prisoner Guilty of ye Inditement.

Mary was then doubtless taken to the jail, there to be housed with the Greensmiths and perhaps others. The prison, which had been built in 1640,[4] was:

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[1] As Job had done, when news of the death of his sons came; and as a stricken father of 1900 must say when his wife had innocently brought diphtheria germs into their house, from which their little child died. It was the only answer that they had, and will remain the best answer for many, in many times to come, for things past our finding out.

[2] Partic. Crt.: 22: 184. [4] Colon. Rec.: 2, 47.

[3] The dating is undoubtedly Old Style and therefore is equivalent to January 6, 1663, New Style.

[6] Love: 283, shows that the form of the indictment used in the Superior Court for many years would assign not simply witchcraft but all crimes to the instigation of the devil.

"—24 foote long & 16 to 18 foote broad, wth a celler, ether of wood or stonne."[1]

It was located in the northeast corner of the meeting-house yard, north of the meeting-house.[2]

The same Magistrates presided in Mary's case as had sat in the Greensmith ones. Of the panel of Mary's jury, ten were identical with the jurymen in the trial of Nathaniel Greensmith. Rebecca had evidently thrown herself upon the mercy of the Court. Mary's jury included four who had been Deputies[3] to the General Court, three were officers in the Militia and at least some of the rest stood well in their own towns. Their average integrity therefore compared very well, for their day, with that of petit jurymen of three centuries later. In other words, they were at least as highly dependable, intelligent and experienced as most of the men then living in the Colony, and were less to be influenced by a passion for punishment, which perhaps had possessed the hysterical citizenry, than juries similarly would be influenced by delusions ten generations later. But no doubt the Magistrates had become sternly zealous to cleanse the land of witchcraft, due to their false belief in its existence; on that false premise, they would honestly pluck up wheat believing it to be tares.[3]

The case of the last of the eight revelers followed that of Mary Barnes, namely the case of Elizabeth Seager. At least these two were indicted on that day. Perhaps it had taken the Court until night to complete the trial of Mary Barnes. Perhaps the Magistrates thought it best to delay further chance of convictions until men should have time to come to sobering second thoughts. Actually it did develop that Elizabeth Seager, who already had an unsavory record, was subsequently convicted of another crime and, after serving a prison term of one year, was released in 1665.[4]

So the jail was to be rather full for awhile. The Particular Court did not re-convene for three weeks. Assumably the three witches, the Greensmiths and Mary Barnes, were then brought before it and sen-

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[1] Colon. Rec.: 2, 47. [2] Love: 287.

[3] Love: 70 and 80, shows that Deputies were representatives, three from each town. They were elected by the respective towns to choose the magistrates and to share with them in the responsibilities of government.

[3] For a sympathetic and therefore better insight, read some of Whittier's poems, such as "Mabel Martin, the Witch's Daughter," and "The Witch of Wenham." Read also "How the (Quaker) Women Went From Dover," New Hamp.—upon order of Major Richard Waldron, in that year 1662.

[4] Conn. Mag.: Vol. 559.

tenced. Each of them doubtless received the death penalty.[1] That these sentences were duly executed is inferrible from a Court record of March 5th, when it next sat:[2]

"—Danll Garet is allowed for keeping Goodwife Barnes 3 weeks 21 shillings, besides his fees, wch Goodman Barnes is to see discharged. And he is allowed 6 shillings a week for keeping Nathaneel Greensmith and his wife, besides their fees, wch is to be paid out of his estate."

The probate of the estate[3] shows that, on "or of ye Assistants 11 ffeb," a committee was to take care of it. The inventory refers to the decedent as "Nathaniel Greensmith who was executed the 25th of January, 1662.[4] And a diary of that time, namely of William Goffe, one of the Regicides who was in hiding, allegedly at New Haven and Hartford a short while, also at Milford and finally at Hadley, reads:[5]

"—Jan. 20, 1662, three witches were condemned at Hartford Feb. 24, 1662."

So we are practically certain that Mary Barnes did not escape execution. Where she met death is not stated. Of the Greensmiths, it has been claimed that they:[6]

"—were hung on Gallows Hill,[7] on a bluff a little north of where Trinity College stands,—'a logical location,' a man learned in the traditions and history of Hartford calls it—as it afforded an excellent view of the execution to a large crowd on the meadows to the west, a hanging then being a popular spectacle and entertainment."

But the usual place for capital punishment is understood to have been up past Thomas Barnes oldtime Hartford homesite, near a prolongation of a northwesterly road[8] alongside the Cow Pasture. This site was about a mile from the jail and a little back from a main road into the country. There a gallows might stand out conspicuously, as a constant warning to evil-doers. This was perhaps the Via Dolorosa of Mary Barnes' last earthly journey, one which she had to take because the law had caught up with her and had found her guilty because there was a Satan, she had sold her soul to him and for that God had said that such as she was proved to be must die.

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[1] What else would the jailer's fees, soon to be mentioned, be for if not for taking the culprits to the gallows and hanging them?

[2] Partic. Court: 22, 265.

[3] Manwaring: I: 121-122.

[4] This was Old Style dating. Love (p. 285) suggests that Jan. 25 was a miswriting for January 23rd.

[5] Governor Thomas Hutchinson: Hist. of Mass. (1764) II 22-23. Also Sylvester Judd: Hist. of Hadley, Mass. (207), who shows that Gov. Hutchinson had Goffe's diary in his possession. It had long been in the library of the Mathers in Boston. In 1764 a mob rifled the house of Hutchinson, a Tory, and, it is supposed, destroyed the diary. In 1764 he had published a short account of the regicides Whalley and Goffe.

[6] Taylor: 200. [7] About a mile sw. from the jail.

[8] Albany Ave. as later named.

70a

3) [illegible] according - soo the Rulls of the [illegible]
- the afore said Thomas burns doos couinant and agre too and
with the afore said Johnandros that he will left too his tandar
[illegible] or hous [illegible] [illegible] his wife [illegible] the mousahills in
hore one cumfurt dewaring the tim of hur natural lif and at
the endthur of [illegible] who shall be remaynyng of thum too returne
too gathur with the hous and hom loot and orchurd with the agur
tynansis belongyng too thum too [illegible] dispose of acordyng too the
last will and testymant of the afore said Thomas burns

4) the afore said Thomas burns doos couinant too and with the
afore said Johnandros soo give too his tandar wif a Hoyntar
that shall beat hur ontissus too give and bequeth to hom she
ples after the deeses of hur husbun it being hur one pacullar rit
which Hoyntar contayns a pasall of lund by istymashon six
achars mor or los lying in a pasall of lund called the allebow
abutyng on the reuire north and on the reuar south and on the lund
of mosis uant ras est and south

5 the afore said Thomas burns oof tooth couinant too and with the
afore said Johnandros too pute out all his children axsupt
ing his sun bunggman burns ondly and if that the afore said burns
too gethur with the desire of his his wife shall se it comfurt abull
for hom sallf and his wif and child he huth liburty and poure
soo cey his tandar hung burns at hom with him to to besurf
uis abill too him untill that she depurt hur natural lif
or tull goo shall dispos of hur in muring] this afore said wife
[illegible] the Hoyntar abuf

March 22 (1662/3)

a having [illegible] the [illegible] Sasten of his wordens sum
me and myne soo we doubtie that there is likelihoode an affynity betwixt
Thomas Barns [illegible] of Sarenny Sonne and John
John Andrews of Wisam Sonne By the marryge of the aforesaid
Barns with the daughter of the aforesaid John Andrews the cousine
and ayre mane Sarnne the aforesaid John Andrews and Thomas Barns con
sarning the premisses was: fulfilled:

Secondly this the aforesaid Barns does give sum his wedder wife his now
wedding bedd and clothes and bedse bed this is now inclosed with
all the appertenances belonging soo it so the other onedes yeise dewaring
the tyme of her naturallitye

2) the afore said Barns doth covinant sum and with the afore said
John Andrews soo lefe sum his wedder wife in cas shee be shuld ye
before his wife of sey soo lefe sum her some and comfortabill maynte
nance for her Salfe during soo the issue shee the bed hath or shee
Solas wisith all and also if soo hapnid my Salfe soo lefe wied
my lewen, of wife so much is wed as is meet and comfortable for the
my lewen, of wife so much is wed as is meet and comfortable for the
bringing up of such child soo as the for shuld be gifed soo give sum as
according - sum the Rulls of the aforesaid

3) the afore said Thomas Barns doos covinant and agree soo and
with the afore said John Andrews shee herself lefe soo his wedder
wife or soos some [illegible] for ever wifere bite wife fulll the mouyabillitie
here one comfort dewaring the tyme of her natural lif and at
the nether of which shall be remaynyng of them soo returne
soo gather with the lows and hom lost and orchard with the ayre
ynansis belonging soo them [illegible] dis wise according soo the
lase will and testyment of the afore said Thomas Barns

4) the afore said Thomas Barns doos covinant soo and with the
afore said John Andrews sum give soo his wedder wif a joynter
shee shuld have her onestyes sum give and bequeth to hom shee
oles after the deses of her husbend in lieing her one peculiar vir
which joynter contayns ayered of land by estymashon six
acfers mor or les lying in ayered of land the allebow
a lieing on the reuire south and on the reuer south and onthe land
of mayes and ras [illegible]

5 the afore said Thomas Barns doth covinant soo and with the
afore said John Andrews soo give our all his children ayeq
ing his son Longyman Barns only and if shee the afore said Barns
soo gether with the issue of his wife shall be in comfort abill
for her Salfe and his wif and child he hath liberty and power
soo cey his wedder hayng liens or hom with him to soo bequeth
his abill soo him untill shee shall see dejeum her natural lif
or suff soo shuld enjoyed of her in marrieg This after sum
of Thomas Barns high jurgen now soo wise the joynt or ubber
[illegible] the aforesaid John Barns in sum mas to
[illegible] the aforesaid John Barns in sum mas to
[illegible] Thomas Barns

70a

march 23 (1662/3)

a having pleased the lord in the span sashon of his promedans sou
me and myne soo wo ordaire that thur is lykeho be an afynity bet be
wixt Thomas Barns [illegible] of farming soune and John
John androos of the sam soune By the maryge of the aforesaid
Barns with the daughter of the aforesaid John androos the couint
and agremant betwixt the aforesaid John androos and Thomas Barns con
earning the premisys aras foullouth:
furst that the aforesaid barns dos giue soo his tandar wife his now
swalling hous and orchard and house loot that is now inclose with
all the courtynanse belonging soo it to be athur onedis post dewaring
the tyme of hur natarallyf
2) the afore said barns doth couinant soo and with the afore said
John androos too lefe too his tandar wife in cas that he shall dye
before his wife of say too lefe too hur amet and comfartaball maynty
nanse for hur salls according too the istate that the lord hath or shall
blas us with all and allso if too bynd my salls too lefe with
my louing of wife so much is [illegible] as is met and comfort ahill for the
bringing up of such chill [illegible] as the lord shall be pleased too giue to us

One likes to think that the widower did not share in those beliefs to the extent of believing that his wife deserved death; or that, even though she did under the law, he was one of those,

"Though she were hanged on the highest hill,
(There were those) whose love would follow her still."

We are entitled to think that on that January day, as in the case of Jesus' crucifixion, there were some who stood by or afar off, as His mother had done, and her mother's sister Mary, and Mary Magdalene and His disciple John. No power on earth could stay the executioner. We can well believe, too, that later he would take up the lonely road back past his old Hartford grounds, to claim a body which otherwise would be placed in the potter's field. Would the stunned and bewildered man not do all that remained in his power to do, in reverence for the memory of his helpmate the mother of their children Sarah, Benjamin and Joseph, and perhaps others who had died in infancy? Now that her poor, troubled soul had been purged of its demon taint by death, that corner of their yard in Farmington should become the last resting place of her remains, beside those of any who had gone before, of their family. Her grave would be cared for by the bereaved ones who remained, in honor of the good which she had done.

The records of Connecticut reveal no further executions for witchcraft. In Massachusetts Bay Colony, another generation would be in control when, in 1692, the delusion spent its fury at Salem and vicinity in death penalties visited upon 20 witches. Two hundred and fifty years later, John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892), who had been brought up there, had learned to value the honesty of the jurymen who had convicted witches and the judges who had sentenced them to death. At the same time his Quaker soul shrank from the hatred which had sprung from the superstitions of that age. The absurdity of some charges then made, the harshness of mind then and the honesty of men's minds in it all, appear in his Witch of Wenham, The Prophecy of Samuel Sewell, and The Wreck of Rivermouth. Of the Young Witch of Wenham, he says:

"And many a goodwife had heard her speak,
By Wenham water, words
That made the buttercups take wings
And turn to yellow birds.

"The mole upon her dimpled chin
Is Satan's sign and seal.
Her lips are red with evil bread
And stain of unblest wine."

"Had she, in some forgotten dream,
Let go her hold on Heaven
And sold herself unwittingly
To spirits unforgiven?"

Judge Samuel Sewell, "the wise and good," who later was to become Chief Justice of the Colony—

His face was hard with cruel fear,
When he had sat on the bench of the witchcraft courts,
With the laws of Moses, and Hale's Reports,
And spake, in the name of both, the word
Which gave the witch's neck to the cord.
No sparing hand, no pitying eye,
When God commands to stay (them),
Until from off its breast the land
The haunting horror threw—.

From The Wreck of Rivermouth:

The mourners walked to the burying-ground;

and an old woman

Let the staff from her clasped hand fall;
"Lord forgive us! We're sinners all!"

Some years later, Judge Sewell publicly and voluntarily confessed his mistake; and thereafter he maintained an annual fast,

Which the good man lifelong kept,
With a haunting sorrow, that never slept,
Of an error that felt the sting of crime—.

By his confession, so the poet implies, the judge

Baffled the ghosts of the dead with charms
Of penitent tears, and prayers, and psalms;
And his faith confirmed, and his trust renewed,
That the sin of his ignorance, sorely rued,
Might be washed away.
Green forever the memory be
Of the judge of the old Theocracy
Whomever his errors glorify!
To the saintly soul of the early day,
To the Christian judge, let us turn and say,
"Praise and thanks for an honest man!
Glory to God for the Puritan!"

If others have thought charitably of the honest mistakes made in 1692 around Boston, we have at least as much ground to believe that bitter misgivings disturbed the hearts of honest men in Connecticut for what they had done in the case of Mary Barnes a generation before, in 1662/3.

LATER FARMINGTON LIFE

THE SECOND MARRIAGE

When Mary Barnes was haled into court at Hartford, three frightened little children, a girl about 13 and two boys still younger, were requiring a father's care, then more than ever. That, and his outside affairs as farm work then went, together with constant thought of the tragic plight of the one for whom he must have been racking his mind to find a way to relieve her—all these were obviously more than the tragicly perplexed man could manage single-handed. So it is likely that some of the good women of the church became a volunteer committee to look after things for a few days at Thomas' house.

But it is easy also to imagine that the Constable of 1661,[1] John Andrews, was still that officer when Mary was arrested, and that he, a good man, would readily be touched with a feeling of her infirmities, especially while on the way with her to the authorities in Hartford; and though he could not understand the nature of her malady, such as it was, he could not fail to feel the agony of her soul and appreciate the distress of her bereft family. Such an arrest and transfer to the court would impel John to offer to have his oldest daughter, Mary, go daily and take care of the Barnes house, pending a time when the other Mary would be coming home again, or her fate be sealed otherwise.

But when any hope of the absent mother's return was forever lost, January passed into February and that into March, spring's work came on and temporary arrangements simply had to give way to per-

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[1] Colon. Rec.: 2—

Also, Alf. Andrews: Gen. Hist. of John and Mary Andrews shows that John was probably born in Com. Essex, Eng. His wife joined the Farmington Church in 1654 and he in 1655. Their daughter Mary was baptized there May 16, 1658, while in her 14th year.

The Registration of Farmington Lands exhibits that he had a homelot of eight acres, besides plots of 16, 10, 5 and 2 acres.

The Porter map of Farmington sets out his residence as a little north of the Church and about half a mile from the Barnes house.

John Andrews may have been a son of William and Abigail Andrews of Hartford; but investigations of Attorney Ernest J. Andrews, late of Chicago, resulted in a manuscript showing a lawyer's careful work and that he was not convinced of more than a possibility of this parentage.

manent ones. Probably young Mary proved to be a steady, strong and willing young worker, such as was invaluable in Widower Barnes' practical arrangements. At all events, before March was over Thomas was thinking seriously of Mary as his second wife. And to her the idea, at least in its aspect of being queen of his house, must have had its appeal. So, notwithstanding that he was more than twice as old as she,[1] Thomas interviewed her father.

People in 1663, it seems, did not look askance upon such a marriage, for they had little labor-saving farm machinery and both widows and widowers, if they had obligations connected with farm work and also little children, were almost forced to re-marry if they would keep up their homes.[2] So a business-like understanding between Thomas Barnes and John Andrews followed. It covered these points:

As to Mary:

Unconditionally she was to have a life-interest in the home lot;

Contingently upon Thomas' death before Mary's. She and any of their children would be supported from his property, she would have a half-interest in his personal property and she would receive, in lieu of a wife's dower, full title to six acres of his choice meadow land;

As to the children of the first marriage: Adjustments were made for their domicile.

The handwriting of the document embodying these conditions[3] is so nearly indecipherable as to suggest that possibly too much hard cider was being drunk during the time of its preparation. A somewhat free translation follows:

"—March 23, 1662
3

"It having pleased the Lord, in the dispensation of His Providence to me and mine, to order it that there is likely to be an affinity between Thomas Barnes of Farmington and John Andrews of the same Town, by the marriage of the aforesaid Barnes with the daughter of the aforesaid John Andrews, certain covenants and agreements between these parties are as follows:

"First: That the aforesaid Barnes does give to his intended wife his present dwelling house and orchard, and the part of his houselot that is now enclosed, with all the appurtenances belonging to it, to be at her own disposal during the time of her natural life.

"2. The aforesaid Barnes is to leave with his intended wife, in case that he shall die before her, a nice and comfortable maintenance for herself,

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[1] The E. J. Andrews mns. asserts that Mary was born April 15, 1643.

[2] Farmington Town Clerk Mrs. Mabel S. Hurlburt: Correspondence.

[3] The original of this document was held among descendants of John Andrews, at Farmington, for nearly 300 years; then it was donated to Ernest J. Andrews, heretofore named, and his wife, who, it happened, was also a descendant of John Andrews.

according to the estate that the Lord shall bless us withal; and also I do bind myself to leave with my loving wife so much estate as is meet and comfortable for the bringing up of such children as the Lord shall be pleased to give to us, to bring them up according to the rules of the Gospel.

"3. He also will leave to his intended wife, in case that he shall die before his wife, half the movables in the house, or household goods, for his wife to make use of them for her own comfort during the time of her natural life, together with the house and houselot and orchard, with the appurtenances belonging to them, to dispose of them according to the last will and testament of the aforesaid Thomas Barnes.

"4. He will also give to his intended wife a jointure, that shall be at her own disposal, to give and bequeath to whomsoever she please after the decease of her husband (this being her peculiar right), which jointure contains a parcel of land, by estimation six acres more or less, lying in a parcel of land at the elbow abutting the river north and on the river south and on the land of Moses Ventrus east and west.

"5. He will put out all of his children excepting his son Benjamin Barnes; however, if the aforesaid Barnes, together with the desire of his wife, shall see it comfortable for himself and his wife and child, he hath liberty and power to keep his daughter Sarah at home with him, to be serviceable to him until she shall depart from her natural life or until God shall dispose of her in marriage.

"The aforesaid wife of Thomas Barnes hath power now to give the jointure whenever she pleases, but if given, it is not to take effect until after the decease of the aforesaid Thomas Barnes.

"In witness of the premises, I have set to my hand and signed and delivered this, in the presence of

Witness: Sam Steel.[1] "The Mark of T Thomas Barnes."

Assumably Thomas and John had first discussed instances with which they were more or less familiar, of other marriages in which the wife was much younger than the husband and where there were several children of an earlier marriage; and then, when they had agreed upon what would be right in the present case, they called in neighbor Samuel Steel, so that he might reduce their plans to writing and witness Thomas' signature as he attested to his promises which would be binding him irrevocably to their performance.[2]

That these men and young Mary could bring themselves coldbloodedly to such a state of mind that Thomas would agree in writing to

[1] The Porter map of Farmington locates the Steels as living only a little way north of the Andrews' home.

Savage (IV; 180-181) brings out that Immigrant John Steel of Hartford moved to Farmington about 1645 and was awhile the Town Clerk there, as he had also been in Hartford. Perhaps this led his son Samuel to become a scrivener and to draw up this paper.

Col. Rec.: 2; 105: At a Court of Election held in Hartford, May 13, 1669, one of the Deputies to the Court was "Ens. Samll Steele."

[2] Both Thomas and John were to sign their last wills by mark (see Manwaring: 1:402 and 1:270).

"putt out" Hany (Sarah) and little Joseph from their home at the whim of their stepmother—that Thomas should be so unnatural and inexcusably harsh as this seems to be—was perhaps only a poor and inadequate expression, upon the part of the scrivener, as to Thomas' real purpose which was to assure her that he would back up her authority in event of later overt rebellions upon the part of Mary's stepchildren. At any rate, Thomas' last will would show that he did provide for all of his folks according to his ability and without prejudice to the material welfare of anyone in his family.

The new marriage probably proved quite satisfactory. Mary became the mistress of a comfortable home and Thomas was free to devote himself to increasing his substance. He had, we can believe,

"A little farm well tilled,
A little wife well willed,
A little house well filled."

thus fulfilling in himself and his family the three colonial requisites which would

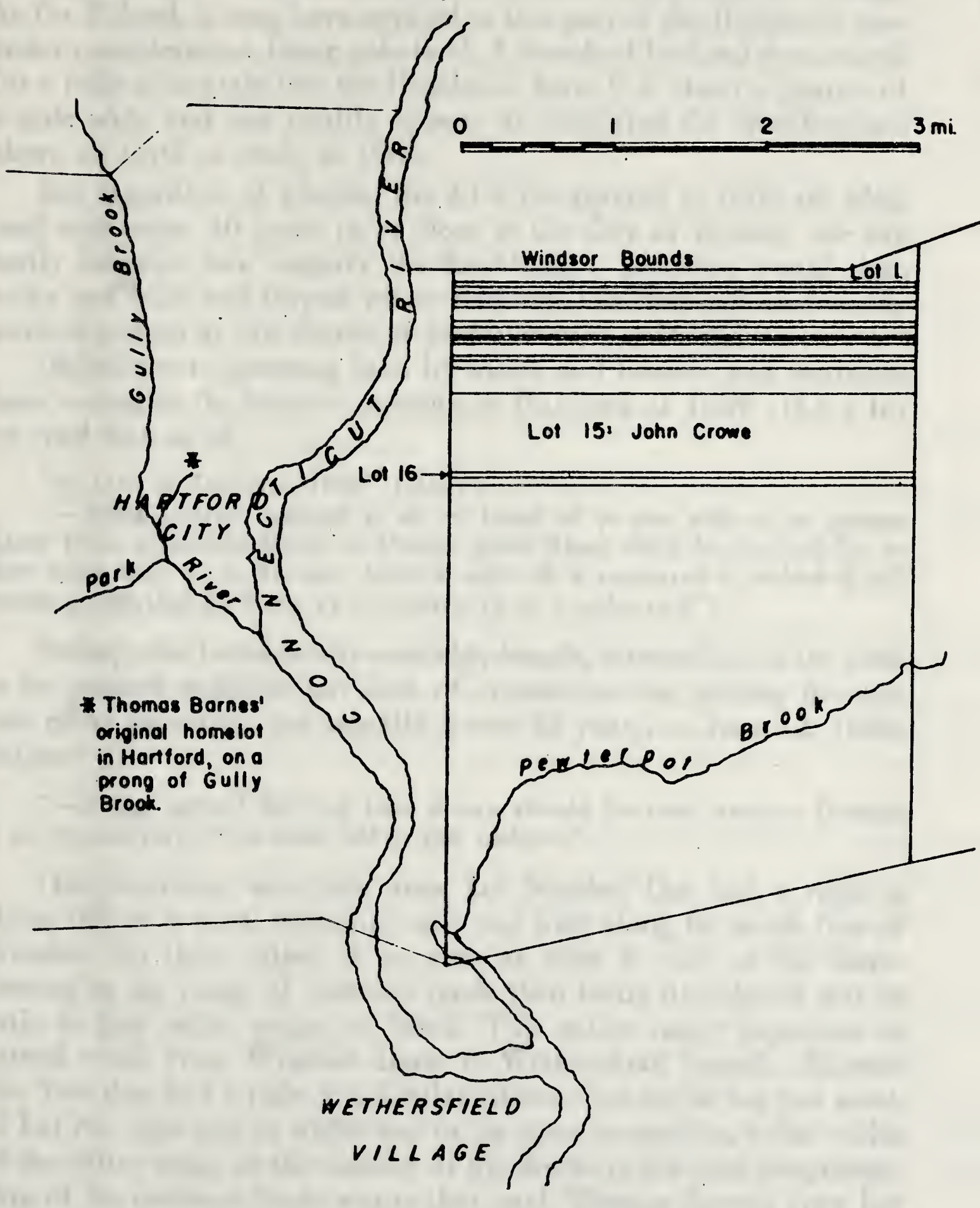
"Make a man happy."

That he did increase his substance, not only from farm produce but as well by real estate transactions, is likely, for the reason that all of his children appear to have started out well fixed in married life. We do not need to drag out into the light of day the acreages and precise locations of all of his various holdings. To try to do it would be impracticable. For one thing, parole sales of land were not always confirmed by written grants; also some grantees neglected to have their warranty deeds publicly registered until after their loss, as by fire, made this impossible. Also the early colonial system of registry of titles does not readily allow of finding chains of title. It was a system which the colonists had brought from England, of demarking by metes and bounds and showing abutting ownerships. An example appears in the following record, made in 1663, wherein, as it happens, Thomas Barnes was one of the grantees. Note the vague phraseology:

"—Att a towns meeting held in ffarmingtown, there was granted to John Wadsworth, Richard Brumpson, Thomas barns and Mosis Ventruss fforty acors of meddow land Lying att the place we commonly Call Poland, beginning at the Brook att the hither end of it, and so up the river on both sides; which is given vpon consideration of thirty acors that was taken out of their farm at Pequabuck."

Obviously, one might have quite a time in platting that grant. However, current officials and students believe that the "farm at Pequabuck" referred to lowlands along the Pequabuck River and that the

To Show, from map by Chas. M. Andrews, in his "River Towns of Conn.", p.61, adapted to part of U. S. Geological Survey map of Farmington Quadrangle, the North 17 lots of Land Distribution of 1666. Lot 16 was that of Thomas Barnes.



"Brook" was that River where it flows easterly as it leaves the Western Highlands about where the City of Bristol was to come into being.[1] As for Poland, it may have applied to this part of the Highlands now under consideration, being pole-land. A thumb of lowland does extend for a mile or so right into the Highlands here. It is about a quarter of a mile wide and can readily appear as satisfying the specifications above set forth as made in 1663.

But regardless of whether the 40 acres granted in 1663 are identical with some 40 acres in or close to the City of Bristol, one can easily imagine how eagerly the land-hungry pioneers would shun rocks and hills and forests where they lived in favor of such easily worked ground as this thumb of lowlands was, at Bristol.

Objections to granting land by metes and bounds had doubtless been voiced at the historic meeting in Hartford of 1639 (O.S.) for we read that, as of:

"ye 11th of Januarie, 1640" (O.S.):

"—Itt is further ordered yt all ye Land of ye east side of ye greatte Riuer from potmarke Riuer to Pewter potte Riuer shall be devided To ye thre miles end: yt is To saye halfe a mile of it messured & staked & ech manes proportion To Rune vy ye Cuntry To ye 3 miles end."[1]

Perhaps the fantastically unwieldy length, three miles, of the plots to be granted explains any lack of enthusiasm for putting the vote into effect promptly, for actually it was 25 years, or June 12, 1666, before:[2]

"—it was agreed the first lotts drawn should be next windsor Bownds & so successively—The lotts fell in this order—"

The proprietor who then drew Lot Number One had a right to claim title to a tract, extending east and west along the south line of Windsor for three miles, in an area as wide in rods as his share-interest in the range of common lands then being distributed was in ratio to that entire range, or block. This entire range happened to extend south from Windsor about to Wethersfield bounds. Allottee No. Two then had a right to a similar ribbon; but his lot lay just south of Lot No. One and its width was in the same proportion to the width of the entire range as the number of his shares in the total proprietorship of the common lands was to that total. Thomas Barnes drew Lot

[1] Mrs. Hurlburt, Farmington Town Clerk, who lived from childhood at Bristol; also Epaphroditus Peck: Hist. of Bristol, p. 39.

[3] Hfd. Town Votes: p. 39; Cf. p. 54. [4] Colon. Rec.: 14; 492.

No. 16. It was about as wide as a city street, six rods; and it comprised 18 acres. To farm such a parcel was infeasible. He would need to watch for a chance to deal it off. As an incipient Yankee trader, he might get something for it from his neighboring owner on the north, John Crowe, who happened to be the greatest allottee of all, with 590 acres, in a belt over half a mile wide. Or Allottee No. 17, namely "rob: Day," with a strip comprising 42 acres, might like to fatten his holding a little by taking on Thomas' 18-acre right, provided of course that Thomas did not hold up the price too high.*

A remaining grant is relevant, as showing further land ownership in Thomas Barnes and also as reminiscent of his pioneer war days. The record is:

"—A session of the Generall Court held in Hartford, October 12, 1671: John Winthrop, Governour:

"This court grants the followinge grants to these followinge, who were Pequott soldiers, provided that they are taken vp where they do not prejudice any former grants to any plantation or perticular person:

".....to Thomas Barnes.....fifty acres—"

Just what advantage Grantee Barnes ever enjoyed from this scrip we do not know; but he may have awaited a time, like when his earliest children, Sarah and Benjamin, were planning to settle in Waterbury; he could then assign his rights to the 50 acres to Sarah, for such use as she and her husband might see fit to make of them in selecting land in the new village.

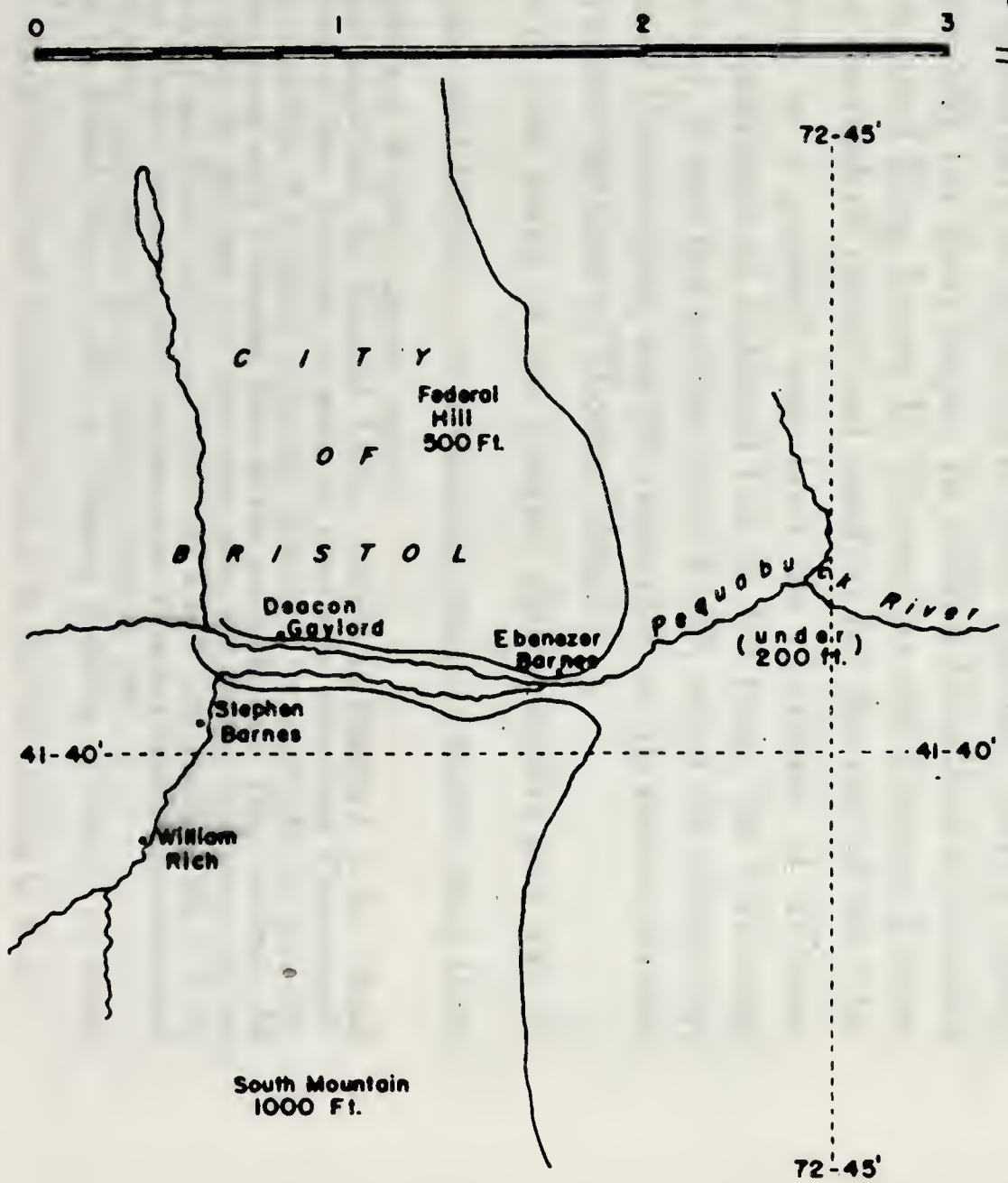
A further suggestion as to Thomas' material condition in his later Farmington years appears in the assessment lists of 1672/3 and 1673/4. His property is there valued for taxation at 120 Pounds, or in the "upper brackets" of Farmington's property holdings.

So, what with unrecorded deeds and scrips and with grants from common lands, Thomas undoubtedly did accumulate a sufficient estate to make life relatively quite comfortable for himself and family.

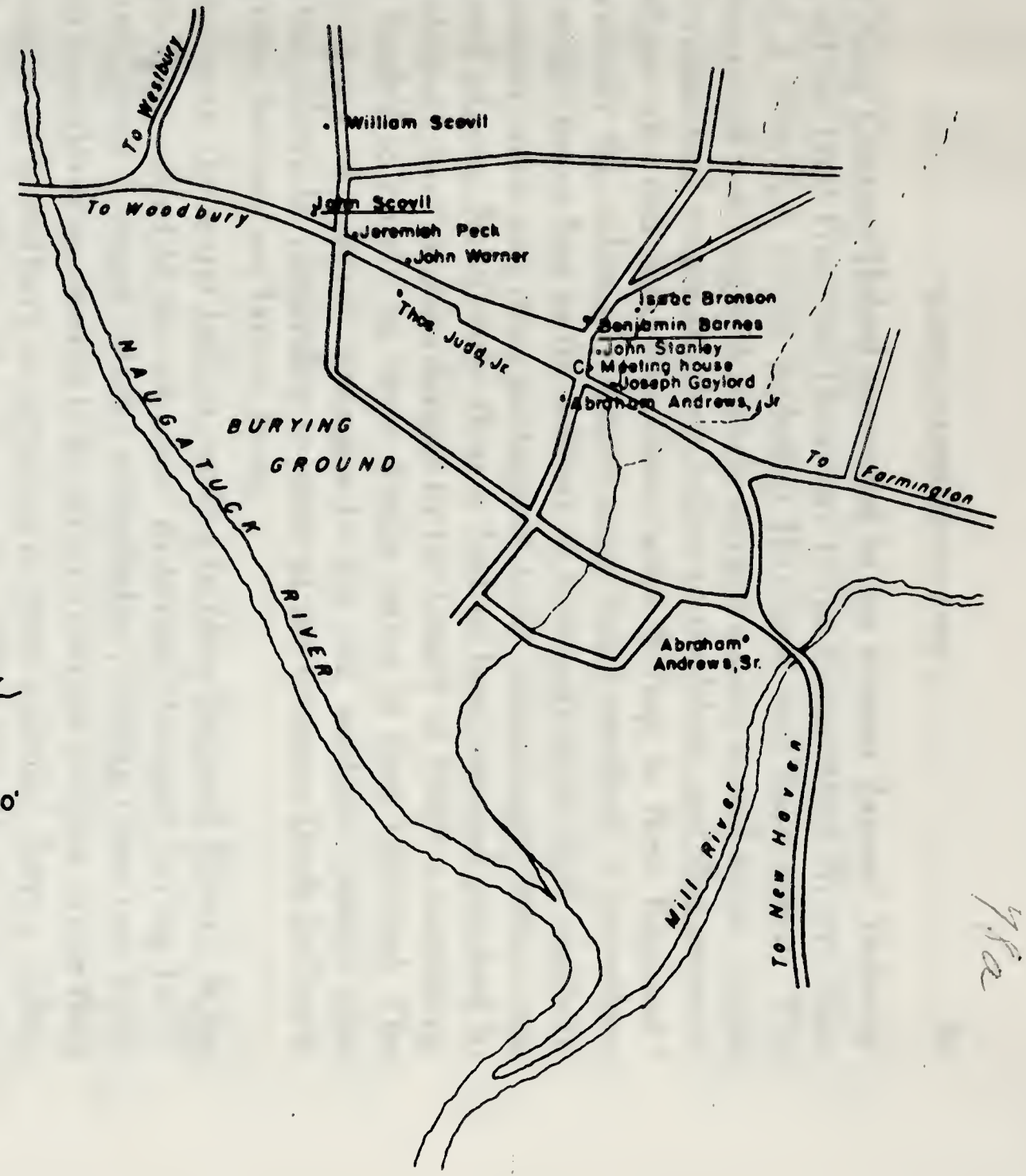
His last years, however, could not but be anxious ones. This was in part because everyone in New England had after 1664 become concerned lest the colonists' loved freedom should be lost. In that year

*This fantastic arrangement has a peculiar interest in that it presents a first step away from the metes-and-bounds method of describing and recording lands to one which developed into the U. S. Govt. Land Surveys. These are based upon parallels and meridia of the earth's surface. Beginning with federally owned Northwest Territory, they were continued through the Louisiana Purchase, Oregon Territory and the Mexican Cessions.

Adaptation from part of Meriden, Ct., Quadrangle, U.S. Geological Survey, to show a projection into the Western Highlands of Connecticut of lowlands of the Pequabuck River, and that the City of Bristol developed along this projection. To show also some sites of first settlers, per E. Peck: History of Bristol.



Village of Waterbury (Mattatuck), Ct., From: Henry Bronson: Hist. of Waterbury (1858).



young King Charles II had conveyed to his brother James,[1] Duke of York, all the land from the Delaware to the Connecticut Rivers, thus making a Province which included Hartford and Farmington. The colonists could not forget that their royal masters would never forget that Puritans had sentenced their father to the block and that some of the judges who did this, Regicides, were hiding in New England.[2] So gradually the colonial charters were being revoked, a procedure which might mean loss to the settlers of Connecticut of their rights in the common lands and even perhaps of their individually owned and improved places. Manifestly then it had at least seemed prudent to try to obstruct this foreseen danger by the lottery of 1666 as something which tended to tangle up those 3-mile strips in East Hartford. The Court's grant of liberal acreages to the old soldiers[3] would also assert the colonials' ownership to some of the common lands before it might later become too late to do so.

Moreover, the worst Indian conflict in New England history, King Philip's War, added to the colonists' disturbed thoughts during 1675-76. Farmington escaped attack; nevertheless, during those two years her first consideration needed to be safety from the Indians rather than a settlement at Waterbury or invasion of their colonial charter rights.

Then, fortunately for their hopes, in 1688 a bloodless revolution in England dethroned King James II. Thereafter old Thomas Barnes might really be assured of peace and comfort for the rest of his life.

As suggesting in a general way both the character of Thomas Barnes and the conditions of colonial life in his time, the following has point. However, it was not written until 1759, when the composer, an Ex-Governor of Connecticut, was 80 years old; so his memories can go back only to about the time of Thomas' death:[4]

"—I began to take notice of the people,[5] their manners and way of

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[1] Later to become witch-hunting, cruel, revengeful, deceitful, despotic King James II (1685-1688).

[2] Two were Goffe and Whalley, already noticed.

[3] In 1687, James' appointee, Sir Edmond Andros, arrived in Hartford, in his official capacity as President of New England, to make it absolutely plain that Connecticut's charter of 1662 was annulled. A tradition is that he demanded the surrender of the document; but delays continued until it became dark at the assembly hall. Then suddenly the lights were extinguished. By the time that they were relit, the charter had been spirited away, to be hidden by Capt. Wadsworth in a hollow oak a half mile south of the hall, on Mr. Wyllys' property. There it remained until happier days. This tree became the celebrated Charter Oak, which stood until blown down during a storm in 1845.

[4] Collections of Ct. Histol. Soc.: 3, 332; in "Memoir Relating to Conn.", by Roger Wolcott (1679-1767).

[5] Evidently his official duties were broadening him, or at any rate tending to do so.

living; and, according to my remembrance, there was much simplicity and honesty among the generality; their buildings were good to what they had been, but mean to what they are now; their dress and diet mean and coarse to what it is now; they were strict in keeping the Sabbath; they paid a greater reverence to their magistrates and ministers than now; their blemishes were too much censoriousness and detraction; and as they had much cyder, many of them drank too much of it."

These later years had also become for Thomas a period of confidence in his judgment and integrity through his being employed at various public and semi-public services. That he acted as either Selectman or Constable develops from the following directive made at the May Session of the General Court in 1669:[1]

"—The Court orders that the selectmen and constables in the seuerall plantations shall take a list of all the freemen in their respective plantations where they dwell, and send it up, under their hands and fayrely written, by their deputies to the General Court in October next; and the secretary is to record the same in a booke for that purpose, that soe, when there may be occasion or difficulty about that matter, it may be the easier determined."

The Farmington list thus required was dated October 12th, 1669.[2] It names 43 as freemen, including Thomas Barns. Following is the attestation:[3]

"—This is a true list taken by vs whose names are herevnder written according to order

Thomas Orton
Thomas Barnes
Stephen Hart senr."

At various times, too, Thomas was active in settlement of estates, as in those of George Orvis, William Smith, Anthony Hawkins and Mary Clark.[4] Likewise his "dignity" in the Church is suggested by a roster of its membership dated March 1, 1679-80. Most of the communicants were shown with a number preceding their names, No. 1 being that of Deacon Hart and wife, No. 2 Deacon Judd and wife, No. 3 Thomas Newell and wife, etc. No. 9 preceded the names of Thomas

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[1] Colon. Rec.: 2-112.

[2] Colon. Rec.: 2, 52.

[3] The Court had arranged in 1658 that any applicant for admission as freeman should first obtain a certificate from one of his Town's Deputies to the Court, vouching for the applicant as a peaceable man of honest convictions. The Court, however, reserved a right to accept or reject the application, at its pleasure.

To become a freeman the applicant must be a householder, be 21 years old or more, and have an estate valued at 30 Pounds or more, or in lieu thereof, have borne office. (From E. J. Andrews' Manuscript on John and Mary Andrews.)

[4] Chas. W. Manwaring: Early Connecticut Probate Records; I, 208, 223, 235 and 288 respectively.

Barnes and wife, and No. 14 was opposite those of John Andrews and wife.[1] Assumably the figures referred to pew-numbers, as well as rank in the church next to the minister.

While thus taking his respectable place in the community, Thomas' older children had come to maturity. In the spring of 1666,[2] his eldest daughter, Sarah, married a near neighbor, John Scoville, one of the earlier settlers. The Scovilles probably stayed on their land for some years, perhaps until 1678. In that year they moved out southwest 20 miles or so, to become pioneers of infant Waterbury.[3] Thomas' last will[4] shows that he had eased things along in a practical way for his children who were married or otherwise out for themselves. We can therefore imagine that Sarah, and her brother Benjamin[5] as well—who, too, settled in Waterbury—had received fatherly help. As for their brother Joseph, the son who as an eight-year-old boy had been liable to be "putt out" of home at the whim of his step-mother, Joseph proved to be the family stay-at-home. On July 8, 1683, he married Abigail Gibbs.[6] They had a small part of his father's original homelot,[7] namely that on the easterly side of Farmington's Town Street and next to the cemetery, which is probably where the old homestead buildings stood. After Thomas had made his will, he deeded 55 acres in the

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[1] Register 12-35. [2] T.C.B.: 1-9.

[3] It is supposed that the Scovilles moved to Branford, Ct., as his name appears there in 1696. They did go to Haddam, Ct., where he died in 1712.

Children:

Mehitable, mar. Feb. 1685, Caleb Thompson.
Eleazur, mar. Abigail Langdon. They settled in Watertown, Ct.
Thomas, mar. Kitty Langdon.
John, mar. Feb. 6, 1693, Hannah Richards. They remained in Waterbury until death.

(All of the above Scoville data are from T. C. B.: I, 9-10. While he did not show his sources of information, he wrote in 1910 that such early data as these have been thoroughly verified. He evidently considered them as fully reliable as can now be. At that time he was considered, upon excellent authority, as knowing more about the early Barneses than anyone else.)

[4] A concluding sentence in Thomas' will reads:

"To my children which are already gone from me and disposed in marriage I have already given according to my ability, with which I expect they shall acquiesce—."

[5] Benjamin Barnes married Sarah ———. Their lifelong home then became Waterbury. She died Dec. 21, 1712 and he April 21, 1731.

Children:

Benjamin, b. Sept. 1684; d. May 24, 1709; unmar.
John, b. Aug. 12, 1686; m. May 28, 1728, to Widow Mary (Bronson) Porter.
Infant, b. May 15, 1689;
Thomas, b. May 11, 1690; m. June 14, 1721, to Susanna Scoville, of Haddam.
Ebenezer, b. March 16, 1693; d. March 10, 1713; unmar.
Sarah, b. Aug. 15, 1695; m. Thomas Day, of Colchester, Ct.
Samuel, b. March 16, 1697; m. June 4, 1722, to Mary Johnson, of Derby, Ct.

(All of the above data on the family of Benjamin are taken from T. C. B. 1, 9-10-11.)

[6] Farm Land Records: I, 5.

[7] Porter map of Farmington.

Great Swamp[1] to Joseph, which was about six miles southerly from Farmington.[2]

Also there were children of the second marriage. Their birthdates are not preserved and the given names of only two, Thomas and Ebenezer, are even approximately known. But the will of their grandmother, Widow Mary Andrews, shows that there were two or more daughters,[3] whose given names are no longer known. Without going more into detail, suffice it to set up that the wills of Thomas Barnes and John Andrews give ground for further deductions, from which it is inferred that Thomas Junior was born about 1667 and Ebenezer about 1676. It was upon these sons, and Joseph, that Father Thomas, past 70, would then have to depend in emergencies and to see that the home place was kept up. Quite possibly their two youngest sons, together with Father Thomas and Mother Mary, and any unmarried daughters, made up the family table as long as the old man lived. Perhaps Joseph and his young wife, with their two or three little children, were there, too, but assumably Joseph's family had a separate house nearby, perhaps across the street.

Father Thomas' last will, or more technically his Deed of Gift, tends to support these further inferences. This paper has been preserved in the Connecticut State Library, at Hartford, where it is identified as "Thomas Barnes Senior's Will, 1690." It is kept in Folder 346, labeled:

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[1] Farm. Ld. Rec.: I, 85. The conveyance was dated March 1, 1688 (doubtless Old Style). It was not registered until March 22, 1696. Assumably the land involved was down Southington way, at Kensington.

[2] Joseph Barnes died in Farmington January 23, 1741.

Children:

Rebecca, b. June 30, 1685.
Jacob, b. Sept. 18, 1687; m. Grace Bronson, of Waterbury, Ct.
Abigail, b. Feb. 18, 1689.
Elizabeth, b. Oct. 1, 1692; m. William Parsons, Jr.
Mary, b. Feb. 6, 1694.
Esther, b. July 31, 1697.
Rachel, b. Oct. 19, 1699.
Joseph, b. April 17, 1702; m. Thankfull Holcomb.
(All of the above data about Joseph and family are taken from T. C. B.: I, 9, f. 11.)

[3] The grandmother bequeathed:

"—to the two eldest daughters of my daughter Mary Brunson, each of them, five shillings."

Her will was dated November 18, 1691 (E. J. Andrews Manuscript). Out of 21 small bequests, the 14th is above quoted. Thomas Barnes died about two years before this will was dated. His widow became the second wife of Jacob Bronson (T. C. B.: I, 9). It seems highly probable that any two *eldest* daughters of Mary Brunson were children of Thomas' second family.

Estate of Thomas Barnes
Town of Farmington
Hartford Probate District
Dated: 1689/90.
1 Will
Total Documents: 1.

The instrument, slightly edited, reads:

A deede of gifte by Thomas Barens Senr Janu. 9, 1688[1]

These may certifye all concerned that I, Thomas Barens Senior, of ffarmington in Connecticot in New England, for and in Consideration of my naturall Love and good affection to my wife and children hereafter mentioned, and for other good Causes mae hereunto movinge, have given and granted as followeth:

Imprimis, to my beloved wife Mary Barens, I give the ufe and improvement of Halfe my home Lot, Dwelling houfe, orchards, Barne and yardes lyinge and beinge in the towne ship of ffarmington, as also the ufe and improvement of halfe my Land in pequabuck meadows and Conchee.[2] The ufe of the Lands and houfinge above mentioned I give to my beloved wife duringe the terms of her natural life, and then to turne to my Sons as shall bee hereafter mentioned.

To her alfo I give halfe my team Tacklinge, and halfe my Quickftocke, alfo one halfe of my houfehold goods and utenfills belonging to hufbandry. The particulars above mentioned, according to the tenor expreffed, I give to my beloved wife provided shee shall pay, or Caufe to bee payed, the one halfe of all my juft debts.

To my fon Thomas Barens[3] I give the one halfe of my homelott, dwellinge houfe, orchards, Barne and yards lyinge and beinge within the towne-Fhip of ffarmington; alfo I give halfe my Land, halfe my teame tackling and utenfills belonging to hufbandry and all my other tooles and implements, to be entered upon and poffeffed by him (my Fon Thomas) at and after my deceafe.

moreover I give to my Fon Thomas Barens the other halfe of my Home-

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[1] This is doubtless "Old Style" for 1689.

[2] The meaning of this word is not known.

[3] Thomas Barnes, Jr., was married June 7, 1690, to Mary Joans (Farm. Ld. Rec.: I, 146), dau. of Richard. They settled in the south part of Farmington, in what was Southington Parish. There he was one of the two first deacons (T. C. B.: I; 10). This suggests that Thomas settled there as soon as married and that Joseph operated the old home place as tenant of his step-mother and half-brother, for at least some years following his father's death.

A handwritten book, "Houses of Farmington," probably in the Library of Ct. Histl. Soc., shows that, as of Sept. 3, 1718, Thomas Jr. sold 10¼-acres of the Farmington homesite to Samuel Hooker.

Children:

Elizabeth, b. June 1, 1691; d. y.
Ruth, b. Oct. 23, 1692.
Elizabeth, b. July 21, 1695.
Samuel, b. June 4, 1700.
Martha, b. March 8, 1702 or '03.
Patience, b. Sept., 1705; d. Dec. 12, 1794; unm.
Hannah, b. Sept. 6, 1707.
Thomas, b. 1710.

(The above data on Thomas Jr.'s children are from T. C. B.: I; 10.)

lot, Houfe, barne, orchards and yarde Lying in ffarmington, but not to bee entered upon, poffeffed and difposed of by him as his own proper eftate untill his mother fhall bee deceased. The particulars above mentioned, according to the tenor expreffed, I give to my fone Thomas Barens provide hee shall paye, or caufe to be payed, the one halfe of my juft debts.

To my Fon Ebenezer Barens I give the one halfe of my Land in paquabuck Meadow and in Conchee, to bee entered upon, poffessed and Improved and disposed of by him as his own proper eftate, from and after the time of his mother's deceafe and not till then.

To my Fon Ebenezer I also give my four acre Lot, Lying at Rattle-Snake Hill, and the one halfe of the rest of my wood Lands, or out Lands, Lying with in ffarmington bounds, to bee entered upon and poffeffed by him as his proper eftate when he fhall come to ye age of twenty and one yeares. The other halfe of these last mentioned woodlands or outlands I give to my Fon Thomas barens, only my Fon Ebenezer fhall have Liberty to make choife of any one divifion among my outlands which may bee moft accommodable to fettlement.[1]

To my children which are already gone from mae and difpofed in marriage I have formerly given according to my ability, with which I expect they fhall acquiesce.

The lands mentioned in the premifes to bee given to my Fons Thomas and Ebenezer, according to the termes and tenor before expreffed, I doe by these give and grant unto them, with all ye priviledges, appurtenances and profitts thereto belonging, for them the said Thomas and Ebenezer Barens, their Heares, executors, adminiftrators, and affigns, to have and to Holde, from and after my deceafe and their mothers (as is above expreffed) forever, without any eviction, ejection, claims or moleftation, from or by any perfon or perfons whatfoever, claiming or that may claim the fame, or any part thereof, by virtue or colour of any right or title, or both, derived or to be derived from mae the faid Thomas Barens, by any manner of way, or meanes, whatfoever.

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[1] Ebenezer married April 8, 1699, Deborah, dau. of Samuel and Deborah Orvis. It is claimed that, in 1729, Ebenezer had become the first permanent settler in what was to become the City of Bristol. This would be along the north side of what is supposedly part of the 40-acre thumb of lowland which had in 1663 been granted to his father and three others in joint adventure.

It is further believed that Ebenezer was twice married, his first wife dying about 1719 and he re-marrying to Mabel Hancox (E. J. Andrews mns.). Ebenezer's home at Bristol was large enough so that it was used as a tavern throughout his life. Its location at a crossroads of a highway coming north from over the shoulder of South Mountain and west from later Plainville was convenient for that purpose. Ebenezer died in 1756.

Children:

Ebenezer, b. Feb. 7, 1700.	Mary, b. Oct. 1, 1721.
Thomas, b. June 21, 1703.	Esther, b. July 30, 1723.
Anna, b. June 7, 1706.	William, b. March 24, 1725.
Jedediah, b. Aug. 27, 1708.	Abigail, b. Jan. 31, 1727.
Gideon, b. August 1, 1711	David, b. April 17, 1729.
Stephen, b. May, 1714.	Amos, b. Nov. 30, 1731.
Deborah, b. July 13, 1717.	John, b. Nov. 5, 1733.
Abiah, b. ——, ——.	Lucy, b. March 4, 1735.

(The data above shown are substantially as appear in T. C. B.: I; 10.)

In Confirmation whereof I have fubfcribed my hande and fett my feale as followeth.

Witneff John Ftandly Fen his
John Hooker Thomas Barens T marke

For filing, the original Deed of Gift was folded quarto. In such condition, one section of the reverse side of the document carries the following endorsement:

"march ye 7th (1689/90)
John hooker of farmingtowne
personally apeared before me and
made oath that he was apsonally
present at the signing of this
within written Instrument that
it was the voluntary ackt of
thomas barnes senior decesed
before me William Lewis Comfer*
& day abovesaid."

On another division of this reverse side is endorsed, in different handwriting:

"Serj. Tho Barnes laft
will &c 1689
90."

And a final back-section endorsement simply says, in more modern script:

"Thomas Barnes
Senior's will
1690."

From the dating of the instrument we see that Thomas' death occurred after January 9, 1689(N.S.) and before March 7, 1690(N.S.). Assumably he died not long before March 7th, or during the winter of 1689/90.

Without doubt Thomas would be buried in that ground which he had donated to his town, a part of the land where his home had been for almost 50 years. And we may feel assured that the place was

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*Perhaps an abbreviation for "Commissioner."

The handwriting used in preparing the body of the original deed is the same as that of Witness John Standley, Sr. That of the other witness, John Hooker, is the same as that used in helping Thomas sign by mark. Of John Standley, Sr., Savage (IV: 164) shows that in 1634 his father brought John to America from England, that John married Sarah, dau. of Thomas Scott, that they had eight children, all born in Farmington, that he died in 1705 and that his dau. Abigail, b. 1669, married John Hooker.

Of John Hooker, Savage states (II: 459) that he was born Feb. 20, 1665, the 4th of 11 children of Rev. Samuel Hooker.

The Porter map of Farmington indicates that John Standley's home was just south of that of John Andrews.

marked, as graves then were, with a redstone monument, for his first name was honored among his children, as appears from its being given often to his descendants unto the third and fourth generations. But after centuries the red stones eroded until all of their engraving, and much of the body of many of them, were all gone. Eventually a generation lived which has formed an endowed Village Green and Library Association. It has restored and beautified the old neglected cemetery. It has taken up the pitifully worn stubs of scores of the red stones, and placed them, side by side, upright in close rows, along the back edges of the grounds, nameless sentinels forever watching over their loved Farmington. Doubtless among them is one which once commemorated Thomas Barnes; but nothing is now known as indicating where his grave or those of any of his family are.

The Association has renewed the worn inscriptions wherever this can rightly be done. It has replaced many slabs with more durable ones, on which the old engraving has been reproduced as precisely as possible, both the old and the new slabs standing on graves thus memoralized. And the grounds are well cared for, in keeping with whatever that fact may mean to any of the thousands now living whose colonial forefathers lived and died in Farmington.

INHERITABLE TENDENCIES

Throughout the foregoing narrative has run an attempt at exposition of a tenet, namely that some inheritable tendencies are likely to persist for more than three or four, perhaps as many as ten, generations. This tenet we have been trying to apply to a specific case, that of one of the early New England immigrants, Thomas Barnes of Hartford and Farmington. From the fossil remains, as it were, of some meager historical records concerning him, together with their embedding strata of contemporary events, we have sought to reconstruct his stature and powers, all as of a prerequisite individual from which or to whom to connect traits which may be discernable in his descent.

Thus we have found that Thomas left his native England during

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*The Middletown, Ct., Land Records (I: 3) authenticate the death of "Thomas Barns, Sr." as occurring June 10, 1691. Obviously he cannot be identical with the "Serjt. Tho Barnes" whose "laft Will" was endorsed by some official of the Hartford Probate Court as of "1689/90."

T. C. Barnes (I: 4-5-16) distinguishes these two men as being "of New Haven" and "of Hartford," respectively. The former became of age at New Haven in 1647. He married Elizabeth ———, removed to North Haven and thence to Middletown. T. C. B. considered that the descent of Thomas of New Haven had become perhaps the most numerous and most widely distributed branch of The Barnes Family in America.

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A Deede of gift made by Thomas Barrens Senr. Januar. 9. 1689.

This may certify all concerned that I Thomas Barrens Senior of Framington in the County of Essex in New England for and in Consideration of my Naturall love, and good affection to my wife and children hereafter mentioned, and for other good Causes, me hereunto moveinge have given and granted as followeth. = Imprimis I do give unto my Wife Mary Barrens, for her life and Maintenance of Halfe my home lot, Dwellinge house, orchard, Barne and yards, lyinge in the towne ship of Framington, also the use and improvement of halfe my Land in Pequaussett meadow and Conclee. The use of the Lands and housinge above mentioned I give to my wife, during the terme of her natural life, and then to return to my Sons as shall be hereafter mentioned. = I do give also to her halfe my Cattle and halfe my Sheepstock, also one halfe of my household goods, and utensils belonging to husbandry. For particular whereof mentioned, according to the Inventory exhibited to the Court, provided she shall pay or Cause to be payd the one halfe of all my debts.

To my Son Thomas Barrens, I give the one halfe of my home lott, dwellinge house orchard, Barne and yards, lyinge and beinge within the towneship of Framington, also I give halfe my Land in Pequaussett meadow and Conclee, with halfe my Sheepstock and halfe my household stuff, also halfe my tramp tackling and utensils belonging to husbandry, and all my three bodies and forge ment, to be entered upon and possessed by him my Son Thomas at and after my decease — moreover I give to my Son Thomas Barrens, the other halfe of my Home lot, House, barne orchard and yards, lyinge in Framington, yet not to be entered upon possessed, and disposed of by him as his own proper estate, untill his mother shall be deceased. For particulars above mentioned, according to the Inventory exhibited, I give to my Sonne Thomas Barrens provided he shall pay or Cause to be payd the other halfe of my debts.

To my Son Ebenezer Barrens, I give the one halfe of my Land in Pequaubsuck meadow and in Conclee to be entered upon, possessed and improved and disposed of by him as his own proper estate, from and after the time of his mothers decease and not till then. = To my Son Ebenezer I also give my four acre lot, lyinge at Rattle Snake Hill, and the one halfe of the rest of my wood lands or out lands, lyinge wth in Framington, [illegible] mentioned wood lands or outlands I give to my Son Thomas Barrens. only my Son Ebenezer shall have liberty to make choice of any one lott in among my outlands, which may be most accommodate to his settlement.

To my children which are already gone from me and disposed in marriage, I have formerly given according to my ability, with which I expect they shall acquiesce. = The Lands mentioned in the premises to be given to my Sons Thomas, and Ebenezer, according to the terms and Tenures aforesaid, I do by these give and grant unto them, with all priviledges, appurtenances and profits thereto belonging, for them, the said Thomas and Ebenezer Barrens their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, to have and to hold, from and after my decease and their mother (as above expressed) freely, without any Molestation, eviction, claime or molestation, from or by any person or persons whatsoever, claiming or that may claime the same or any parte thereof, by virtue or pretence of any right or title, derived or to be derived from me the said Thomas Barrens, by any manner of way, or meanes whatsoever. in Confirmation whereof I have hereunto subscribed my hand and set to my Seale as followeth.

Witness to the Delivery hereof
Peter Woodbridge

his
Thomas Barrens mark

his youth, to see the world. We infer that difficulties, perhaps forced upon his parents because of their religious beliefs, had driven him, with little money, to search abroad for liberty from galling restrictions—social, religious, political or all these together—as well as for his economic welfare. And we find that his life-adventure led him early to the uttermost fringe of civilization. There, for life itself and a home, he joined in exterminating the Pequots and in subduing part of the wilderness at Farmington. Eventually he achieved his life's purpose by accumulating an estate which should endure beyond his lifetime. And we realize that, in doing this, he was able to provide well for all of his family at his death—which probably is more than 85 men out of 100 usually do.

What richness of memories, during his last years, must have been those of Thomas Barnes, as he might recall in conversation with his friends, or tell his family of, experiences which never on earth might be paralleled. There would be the rigorous Puritan life of his boyhood days, the ocean voyage—via the West Indies?—his coming to Boston only to leave, almost at once, on the Great Removal to Connecticut. And then there would be the young bachelor's few years at Hartford, followed by his settlement in lovely Farmington, its rapid growth and that of all Connecticut, nurtured as that region was by the eternal vigilence of leaders in its affairs.

Inevitably, too, there were tragic memories, especially of the witchcraft visitation which broke his family asunder. How Thomas regarded this delusion we can only conjecture; but the fact that he kept his membership in the Church until he became at last one of its pillars indicates that he was not permanently embittered by the excesses of his time. He lived under the inspiring influence of fine men, notably Thomas Hooker, men of lofty thought, prophetic vision, wonder-working because of the high standards which they set up in education, religion and politics among a receptive people. Such people were the predecessors of the Revolutionary War Yankees.

Partly off the record, we can indulge an idea, perhaps rightly, that Thomas Barnes was an erect man, lithe, muscular, quick in action, one with blue-black eyes, straight, dark hair and a long, strong nose, a man who was earnest, dignified and almost austere, yet with a winning smile, one who was able to get along with others peaceably but who faced the world with courage and as a good fighter. Perhaps he rather enjoyed a fight. But he did not show marked powers of leadership. This may have been because he lacked schooling. In spite of that

handicap, he did make good use of his opportunities and achieved real worldly success. Always a need has existed for such men in the ranks, good workers, loyal followers, hard fighters, kind friends and dependable citizens.

This imagined restoration of his individuality and personality is made from only about 20 town records, land registrations, court orders, probate entries, and church minutes, supplemented from contemporary life and with some license in supplying unknown details. Unfortunately no portrait, and not even a specimen of his handwriting other than his mark, are found. Our opinion as to the restored Thomas Barnes is therefore somewhat similar to a Scotch verdict of "Guilty but not proven." In other words, we wish that we had more evidence.

Meanwhile it becomes practicable for anyone to assemble at least some orderly records of known facts, as to persistency back through one's known forbears, if only for some generations, astonishing though it is that some cannot give the full name of even their four grandparents. Abysmal is the ignorance of one's inheritance, from the 512 people—granted that there has been no intermediate inbreeding—who comprise his forefolks to the tenth generation. This subject is practically untouched. Records for comparison, of cousins, second cousins and their parents, should therefore be encouraged, much as one should keep books and records of his business affairs. Detractors often do not see value in this, as they do not in geology, biology or astronomy. But such records sometimes have great value. One seeking to put his biological house in order can well take counsel with scientific researchers, act in harmony with their plans, and thus have the profound satisfaction of doing something which gives humanity more insight into the truth, and new values. Such statistical studies have been undertaken only recently. But it is probably not too much to hope that, within a few decades, qualified experts will be able to tell people very reliably along what channels of life that may escape shipwreck and which ones to take if they would indeed go far.

Meanwhile the case for persistency of characters is being strengthened by trained researchers into traits of animals of short life-span. Also increased knowledge of wise diets, glandular functions, control of disease and the effects of better community health and social welfare should influence persistency profoundly. We come therefore to a view that, far from thinking of inherited tendencies as of no value or on the other hand as comprising one's fate, one may well take stock

of what he has, with intent to use his capital endowment as wisely as he can, to encourage his socially valuable aptitudes and to let other traits atrophy until they lose all function. And meanwhile, too, a study like that of Thomas Barnes gives laymen something to tie back to, which may—with much expanded knowledge among our descent, of traits seen in our immediate kin—make a great body of evidence as to the extent to which a patriarch's individuality persists to the present time.

Any such respect given to the memory of those who went before us is common sense. We cannot afford not to revere our ancestors, as Confucius taught, for in us they continue to live, and move and have their being, after many generations.

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